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CHANGING TIMES,
CHANGING ECONOMICS:
EXPERIENCES OF OLDER
RESIDENTS IN BOSTON'S
NORTH END

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CHANGING TIMES,
CHANGING ECONOMICS:
EXPERIENCES OF OLDER
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NORTH END

The Gerontology Institute

Justin Gray
Paul Houlihan
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TO: The North End Union Board of Directors
 The North End/Waterfront Neighborhood Council

During this past year a team of people at the Gerontology Institute, University of Massachusetts at Boston has been examining the housing status and perspectives of older residents of the North End neighborhood. This work was conducted in response to the desire expressed by both the North End Union and the North End/Waterfront Advisory Committee to:

- better understand the impact of the current housing market on older North End residents
- and find out the concerns of older residents regarding the many changes which have occurred, and will continue to occur, in the neighborhood.

The results of this effort are contained in the enclosed report entitled Changing Times, Changing Economics: Experiences of Older Residents in Boston's North End. Our work involved selecting North End residents for extensive individual and group interviews (Part I of this report), and examining the population trends and housing market changes which have occurred during the past forty years (Part II). In all of these efforts we enjoyed the generous support and assistance of many organizations and individuals in the North End, without whose help this work would not have been completed.

Chief among our findings (Part III) are the following:

- The makeup of the North End population has changed dramatically since 1950. The children have virtually disappeared and the older population has increased proportionately.
- Older women in the North End face many of the economic issues facing older women generally. They tend to be widowed, live alone, and have lower incomes than men, making them more vulnerable to poverty and the economic changes taking place in the neighborhood.
- For older persons who have managed to remain in the North End their housing is generally satisfactory. Displacement, however, has been a reality for community residents who did not want, or could not afford to buy their units when substantial numbers of North End buildings were converted to condominiums.
- Changes in the housing stock and residency patterns are closely related to overall changes in the community. From 1973 through 1978 a total of 1,439 condominiums were developed in the North End. Ninety percent of these were conversions of existing structures and,

undoubtedly, involved displacement of North End residents.

- Older residents of the North End are very concerned about the effects that the depression of the Central Artery would have on their lives and on the community, including disruption of daily life, noise, dirt, air pollution, and the influx of rats once the project is underway.
- All of these issues underscore the fact that the North End has experienced, and continues to experience, ethnic and economic change. Older residents know that the community is losing its strong, tight-knit ethnic base as these changes occur.
- In researching this report it became evident that the North End does not exist as a separate statistical entity in the eyes of the government, thus making it difficult for community leaders, social service organizations, health agencies, etc. to present a clear case of the extent of need in the neighborhood. Until this issue is resolved the North End will have a difficult time in advocating for private and city, state, and federal resources.

In conclusion, it is our hope that the information contained in this report will be useful to the North End community in its efforts to respond to the needs of its older residents.

Respectively submitted,

The Gerontology Institute
December 1989

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Part II Analysis of Census Data and Condominium Conversion

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Neighborhood Coordination and Technical Assistance

Special appreciation is expressed to all the persons listed in Appendix A for their generous assistance in helping the Institute to complete this project

This report is dedicated to the older residents of the North End, particularly those persons who shared their lives with us through the interview process.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

This report looks at the impact of change on older residents of Boston's North End. Many were children at the time of the great influx of immigrants to the North End, and have lived an entire lifetime within a relatively stable and tight-knit community.

The North End has undergone significant physical, social, and economic changes in its 350-year history. It is currently undergoing further change and will undoubtedly be affected by the proposed Central Artery Depression, a project which could take ten to fifteen years to complete and leave the North End changed dramatically.

While residents of the North End are very familiar with the history of the area, we begin with a brief description so that all readers will be able to place the information presented in this report in a historical context.

Section 1: HISTORY OF THE NORTH END

The first European immigrant to the North End was Rev. William Blackstone, who settled here in the 1620s, followed in 1630 by John Winthrop and a group of Puritans. A description left by one of these settlers portrays the area as a "place very uneven, abounding in small hollows and swamps covered with blueberries and other small bushes." The swamps were eventually drained into a channel, which separated the North End from the rest of Boston throughout the colonial period.

The colonial-era North End was characterized by farming, shipbuilding, crafts, mills powered by wind and water, and most of all by the establishment of churches, with a rich history of religious leaders and members. The narrow streets and wood and thatch buildings of the area contributed to the rapid spread of fire, occasioning much rebuilding during the North End's first two centuries.

Fanieul Hall, built in 1742 in the North End, became Boston's central marketplace. The North End's location on the water (especially true in the early years before the filling of the Harbor and extension of land wharves) made it an important location during the Revolutionary War. After the Revolutionary War many of the North End's most prominent citizens left. Some were loyalists who went to England or Canada; others moved to Beacon Hill, which was at this time becoming more fashionable.

After the Revolutionary era the North End's importance as a

maritime center grew. The area was flooded with sailors on shore leave and served as a first stopping place for several waves of immigrants. In the early years of the nineteenth century the immigrants represented all nationalities seeking freedom and opportunity in the new world. Germans, including German Jews, English, Irish, and Black freedman came to settle in the North End, in overcrowded houses interspersed with mills, factories, and markets.

Following the potato famine of 1846 the numbers of Irish immigrants increased dramatically. By 1850 the Irish constituted half of the population of the North End. Finding no Catholic Church, these new immigrants established St. Stephen's and St. Mary's churches.

The old mansions of the founding families, which no longer served to hold the streams of new Irish immigrants, were torn down and replaced with four- and five-story tenement buildings. The 1845 census shows Ward 2, which covers the eastern half of the North End, as having almost 18 people per house. Overcrowded and lacking adequate sanitation facilities, the area saw numerous epidemics of smallpox, cholera, and tuberculosis.

The Irish predominance in the North End peaked in 1880. The next wave of immigrants to come to the North End were Jews, mostly from Russia and Eastern European countries; by 1895 they constituted nearly one third of the North End's population. Establishing stores, synagogues, and schools, they made a lasting mark on the community. Soon after the turn of the century, however, most of the Jewish immigrants had moved on, making way for the influx of Italian immigrants who began to fill the North End's tenements.

The wave of Italian immigration grew slowly, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century with only 1,000 Italians. By 1895 there were almost 8,000 Italian immigrants in the North End, and by 1920 36,000 of the North End's 40,000 residents were of Italian extraction. Although most spoke no English, and few were able to read in any language, some set up businesses and became owners of North End's housing stock. This era -- when most of the participants in our study were children -- is considered by many people to have been the North End's heyday.

Rapid change occurred in the North End, not only in terms of ethnic populations, but in the physical makeup of the area. The first threats of urban renewal and development began in 1919 with the proposal that a "Lafayette Street" be created to connect the North End and Charlestown via the Charlestown Bridge. The proposed street would have split the North End in two. The neighborhood, by this time primarily Italian, rose up in unified protest and the plan was abandoned. This was the first time Italian North Enders exerted themselves as a political force.

One of the strengths of the community was a willingness and commitment to develop its own resources. Through the 1940s and '50s efforts were made to provide for the greatly increased youth population of the area. The North Bennett Street Industrial School and the North End Union developed programs for young people. The North End Library sponsored a youth council. North End parents recognized the need for recreational facilities for youth of the area and were influential in seeing that the Christopher Columbus Catholic Center provided athletic facilities for all the youth of the area. When swimming at the old waterfront beach was banned due to pollution of Boston Harbor, parents worked for the creation of a community swimming pool which was opened in June 1952.

Despite the vibrant community life of the North End, it had an image among many outsiders as a slum. This image led various levels of government to consider it a prime candidate for urban renewal, which was becoming popular in the early 1950s. The first such project to cause tremendous upheaval was construction of the elevated Central Artery. Local residents became alarmed at what the Artery would do to their access to the city. North End wholesalers organized a "Save Boston Business" committee to protest its development. A "Committee to Save the North End of Boston" was created to protest what community leaders felt would increase deterioration of the area. Alarm increased further when residents learned that Hanover Street would be cut off from the city, that the area's famed Post Office was threatened with destruction, and that pushcart peddlers on Blackstone Street faced eviction.

Such protests were no match for the outside forces favoring the project, however, and the Artery's plans went forward. Construction was begun in 1954 and completed in 1959. Due to construction more than a hundred dwelling units were demolished. Several hundred businesses were displaced and the geographical size of the North End was reduced. The resulting Artery and its entrance and exit ramps created a physical barrier to downtown Boston which continues to this day. The Artery, which was designed to carry 75,000 cars per day, was soon carrying two to three times its that number, making it the busiest road in the entire Commonwealth.

Two other events in this period also had a long-term impact on the physical makeup of the community. The first was the construction of the Sumner and Callahan Tunnels, connecting downtown Boston with East Boston and the airport. Construction of the Sumner Tunnel was completed in 1934. The Callahan Tunnel was completed in 1961 with additional properties being taken by eminent domain. These tunnels have come to form a southern boundary of the North End community.

The other major event impacting the physical and psychological character of the North End was the destruction of the West End, a neighborhood connecting the North End with Beacon Hill and the rest of the city. In the early 1950s city, state, and federal officials determined that this area of the city was a slum and thus a prime candidate for urban renewal. Most of the area was taken by eminent domain during the next ten years. Promises made by public officials that land owners would receive fair value for their homes never came to fruition. Families were uprooted, and the fabric of an old and solid community was destroyed. The Boston Globe noted in 1982, at a time when demolition crews were razing the last remaining blocks:

"Originally the West End neighborhood spanned the area between North Station on one side and the foot of Beacon Hill along Cambridge Street on the other side. Its neighbor was Scollay Square.... Most of the West End was cleared in the '60s by a Federal urban renewal program, not without a bitter, but unsuccessful, fight by residents." (Boston Globe, December 12, 1982, p. A-47).

With the development of the Artery and the destruction of the West End, residents of the North End justifiably feared the impending destruction of their community through urban renewal. But the neighborhood got a reprieve.

Ironically, the ambiance of the Italian-influenced life of the North End, visible in its small cafes and restaurants, the fruit stands and open markets, the gathering of older people in the Prado and young people in the park, was finally recognized as a way of life to be valued in America's urban environment. Jane Jacobs, in her classic 1961 study of urban growth, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, gave the North End prominence as a model of city life. Urban renewal officials at the Boston Redevelopment Authority finally acknowledged the North End as one of the most lively neighborhoods in the city and assured residents that no West End-like destruction of the community would occur.

With this reprieve, North End residents focused on the physical upgrading which the area needed. Individual North Enders took advantage of increasing community stability to purchase and upgrade properties, and to protect and expand community resources in the areas of education, health care, recreation, and public services. This upgrading and development of the neighborhood proved both a benefit and a problem for residents. With improvement in housing stock and economic improvement came prosperity for a number of residents, but displacement for others due to housing turnover and condominium conversion.

Many of the residents who were interviewed for this survey lived through and recalled a number of the events described above. Their feelings of struggle and pride in their neighbors and neighborhood are evident in the responses which they have provided.

Section 2: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The Sample

Since the goal of this survey was to understand the effects of social and economic changes on older residents of the North End, it was necessary to identify and question a representative sample of older residents. The first difficulty encountered was the fact that the North End has not been considered, for the Census or other governmental purposes, a separately defined geographic area. Rather, the neighborhood known as the North End has been combined with other geographically proximate areas by city, state, and federal planning and research agencies. For this reason the North End's population levels and changes over the years are difficult to determine using traditional Census statistics and population studies.

In response, the initial task undertaken by the Gerontology Institute survey team was to define the boundaries of the North End in a way that would be useful to and acceptable to community residents. This was accomplished through study of historical documents and area maps and consultations with North End leaders. Throughout this report we define the North End as bounded by the Central Artery, Atlantic Avenue, Commercial Street, and North Washington Street. A detailed description and discussion of the population totals and changes over the years is presented in Part II of this report.

As part of this process all individual streets and blocks within this defined North End were identified. Names and addresses of all residents age 65 and older in these areas were drawn from the City of Boston's Annual Listing of Residents, Including Registered Voters and All Residents 17 Years of Age and Over as of January 1, 1987 for Ward 3, Precincts 1, 2, 3, and 4. The total number of older persons identified through this process was 1,300. Each of these names was written on an index card, along with address and telephone number, if available. Those with no telephone were separated since a different contact method was to be used. All names were entered into the computer and a random sample was selected (every tenth name). Mailing labels were then developed for our sample.

A letter, written in both English and Italian was sent to a sample of 400 residents. The letter, signed by the director of the North End Union, explained why this study was being conducted and requested the assistance and participation of older residents. Persons with no telephone were asked to contact the North End Union to arrange an interview. Institute interns called selected residents who had telephones. Through these two procedures, one hundred interviews were arranged. Ultimately eighty-three persons completed individual interviews. Twenty-

five additional persons participated in one of four group interviews and discussions. The interviews with individuals were conducted utilizing a quantitative questionnaire containing 125 primarily closed-ended questions. The group interviews utilized a qualitative approach in which open-ended questions were asked. These discussions were taped and transcribed, and utilized to identify themes and concerns, as well as to provide narrative descriptions to accompany the data collected in the individual interviews.

The Interviews

The quantitative survey questionnaire (Appendix F) was designed and pretested by the Institute staff and interns. The interns received training in survey research methodology in order to conduct both individual and group interviews. In addition, the interns were briefed by community leaders on the history and development of the North End, the structural and economic changes which have taken place in the area, and the plans for the Central Artery Project. Each of the ten interns was assigned ten study participants and was responsible for contacting them and conducting the interview. In addition, teams of interns were assigned responsibility for arranging and conducting the group interviews. All interviews, whether individual or group, were administered in person. Most individual interviews occurred in participants' homes, though some were conducted in a community center, library, or other public place.

Analysis of the Data

The data was coded and analyzed by the Harvard University School of Public Health Computer Data Center. Standard statistical procedures were used. These included frequency distributions and description statistics on all variables; essential cross-tabulations across key variables; chi square analysis of relationships between variables; and statistical techniques to explore the relationships within the data set. All data was aggregated, and individual questionnaires remain anonymous.

Limits of the Findings

The opinions of individuals who declined to participate in the study, who had unpublished telephone numbers, did not speak English, were ill, had already been displaced from the community, or were unavailable for some other reason might have altered the findings in some manner. Of the 83 individual interviews conducted, 6 were with residents with no telephones. We were unable to determine whether there was any correlation between

level of income and lack of telephone, although it seems probable that residents without telephones are poorer than other residents.

The limitations of these findings are directly linked to the problems of access to older residents of the North End. During initial consultations with community groups we had concluded that language would not be a substantial barrier in this study since most of the Italian-born elders had lived in the United States for many years. We therefore did not train and use interpreters or Italian-speaking interviewers. However, based upon the telephone response, we conclude that there are a significant number of North End residents who were excluded from this study due to a language barrier. Although the final sample size is adequate, its representativeness cannot be confirmed.

On the other hand, we do know that the findings contained in this report are an accurate reflection of the opinions and concerns of those older residents who participated in this survey. In fact, interviews were conducted either on an individual or group basis with approximately 10% of all residents age 65 and over living in the North End.

Section 3: SURVEY FINDINGS

Demographic characteristics

The quantitative study sample identified by the Gerontology Institute of 83 individuals included 65% women and 35% men. Their ages ranged from 65 to 96. In determining the study sample we had selected individuals who, according to date of birth listed on voting records, were 65 or older. Age was distributed as follows:

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of interviewees</u>
65-69	24
70-74	27
75-79	12
80-84	11
85+	9

Almost a fifth (19%) of the participants were born in Italy, 1.2% in other foreign countries, and 80% in the United States. Of those born in the United States, 75% were born in the North End and 80% reported one or more parents born in Italy. Among those who migrated to the United States from Italy, 62% arrived between 1900 and 1929, none during the depression, and 38% since 1940. Overall, a majority of our sample grew up in a preponderantly Italian North End during the early part of this century.

Marital Status

Over half (57%) of the women who responded to our survey were widowed, while 30% were still married, 11% had never married, and under 2% were divorced. By contrast, only 18% of the men were widowed, while just over half were currently married. Another 14% of the men were divorced, and the same percentage had never married.

Income Level

Current federal poverty guidelines (1989) indicate that the poverty level for a single person living alone is \$5,980. For a two-person household the poverty threshold is \$8,020 per year. As presented in Table 1, participants in the North End sample reveal that 31% have an annual income of less than \$7,000. The largest percentage of those in poverty in the sample are older women living alone (22%).

Table 1: Annual Income for the North End Sample

Household Income	Population Percentage Subtotals		
	All	Male	Female
Under \$5,000	17%	9%	22%
Under \$7,000	31%	18%	39%
Under \$13,000	63%	46%	73%

Income Sources

The sample's response to source(s) of income indicate that 100% of persons interviewed receive Social Security, while 59% of the men and 37% of the women receive some form of pension. There is a striking difference in regard to Supplemental Security Income: only 1% of the men receive this form of assistance, but 20% of the women receive it. At the same time, 19% of both male and female participants indicate income derived from real estate. More than twice as many male participants (19%) derive income from stocks and bonds as do female participants (9%). The same is true for interest income: 41% of the men derive interest income, as compared to 27% of the women. Wage income is derived by 22% of male participants, and by 9% of female participants. Table 2 indicates the percentage sources of income by gender.

Table 2: Sources of Income by Gender

Income Sources	Male	Female	All
Social Security	100%	100%	100%
Pension	59%	37%	46%
SSI	1%	20%	15%
Stocks/Bonds	19%	3%	9%
Real Estate	19%	19%	19%
Interest Income	41%	19%	27%
Wages	22%	9%	14%
Inheritance	7%	1%	4%

Occupation

With regard to lifetime occupational status, 66% of male and 50% of female participants consider themselves as having had blue-collar occupations, while 19% of the men and 22% of the women said they had white-collar occupations. Three percent of the men (and none of the women) said they had been business owners. Finally, 20% of the women reported themselves as housewives.

Living Arrangements

Exactly half the men, but only 25% of the women, reported that they live with a spouse. Seven percent of the men and 3% of the women reported living with a spouse and one or more children. None of the men live only with their children, while 2% of the women do so. Forty-six percent of the men and 65% of the women said that they live alone.

Females in this sample were three times more likely than men to be widowed, and were much more likely to live alone (as noted above, 65% compared to 46% of the men). Also as noted earlier, a third of the females interviewed have incomes below \$7,000; three quarters have incomes below \$13,000, contrasting with less than half of the males interviewed. A relationship exists between living alone, living at or near the poverty level, and being female, making this population quite vulnerable to the economic changes taking place in the North End.

Housing

The group and individual interviews also give us a picture of how the housing situation of our participants has changed over the years. Participants reported memories of small apartments with an average of eight people per apartment. Group interviews, historical accounts, and early Census data paint a picture of tenement buildings in which families in small apartments shared one toilet per floor. As late as 1950 the vast majority (94%) of the North End's 4,671 dwelling units either had no running water or private bath or were dilapidated.

Rents in the early part of the century were low. As late as 1950, rents ranged from \$19 to \$29. Even today, rents are comparatively reasonable. Of the 59 renters in the study (of whom 38 rent privately and 21 are in subsidized housing) 54 gave us information regarding their current rents. Of these the greatest number, fourteen, reported rents under \$100 per month. Thirteen reported monthly rents of from \$100 to \$199, nine from \$200 to \$299, five from \$300 to \$399, eight from \$400 to \$499, and five over \$500 per month. This finding is confirmed by 1980 Census data, which showed a median North End rent of \$223 per month. North End social service agency personnel indicate that current apartment rents average about \$800 per month, a figure confirmed by review of rental ads for the area. These agencies report that older residents who are forced to move for whatever reason simply cannot afford these higher rents and are forced out of the community.

In response to questions regarding the relative condition and maintenance of their apartments, 32 of the participants who

mentioned any of 13 different problems felt that the problems had gotten better, 28 felt they had stayed the same. Only 6 reported any problems that had gotten worse, 5 of these having to do with trash disposal, insects, and rodents.

The group interviews give a clear picture of overall satisfaction with their current housing. The participants often compared their current housing situation to the housing they remember from their childhood. One said:

"There would be two rooms, the parents slept in the bedroom, for the children there would be a daybed.... They scrubbed, they had no hot water, no heat ... Sometimes we shared one bathroom to four families, go up and down, and no hot water. To wash the dishes, heat the water on the stove, wash the dishes, go out and get more water - the sinks were out in the hallway."

By contrast today just one or two people are living in an apartment that used to hold a family of eight; they have bathrooms and hot water in every apartment. Although rents have gone up over the years, they still only average approximately \$250 per month. Thus the overall housing satisfaction of our study population is not too surprising. In addition, 49 of the 59 renters feel that the owner takes good or excellent care of the property, while 5 felt the owner takes poor care of the property, and the rest did not answer. Still, 24 of the renters said they would be interested in moving to a new apartment if new ones were constructed in the area and were affordable to older people.

In light of the participants' income level and current housing costs and satisfaction, the question arises regarding the ability of many of the North End's elders to afford housing should they be displaced. Waiting lists for low-income elderly units in the North End are long. Also at risk are the elders who do not qualify for low-income housing but would have difficulty finding housing they could afford. One woman discussing rents in the group interviews made it clear that she knew that she and many other older North Enders are paying rents well below market rates:

"New people coming in, they are nice, but it isn't like it used to be. I was talking to a lawyer, no, a journalist, he's paying \$600 a month in my mother-in-law's house: I started out paying \$15, but what can you do?... and he says that's cheap according to other places.... I'm on rent control, and the same rooms are \$110.... three rooms and a bath."

Twenty-three of the participants own property in the North

End. Of these, three own only the condominium or house in which they live, eighteen own the apartment building in which they live, one owns a second building, one owns two buildings besides the one in which he lives, and one participant owns a building but rents an apartment in another building. Most of the buildings are relatively small, with an average of 4.5 apartments per building. Of the total number of tenants, listed as 129, the preponderance (103) are non-relatives, characterized in the study as young professionals and families with children. Nine are the participants' children and grandchildren, and sixteen of the apartments hold other elders, including five elderly relatives.

None of the owners had ever converted a building to condominiums, nor sold a building for conversion, though four reported having been asked to do so. Six of the owners had units under rent control, and none reported subsidized units. Eleven participants gave rent information, with rents for a one-bedroom apartment averaging \$262 and two bedrooms averaging \$466. The picture one gets of these owners is that they primarily own the building in which they live, and tend to keep rents below market rates. Ten of the owners do most of their own maintenance and repair.

Eighteen of the twenty-three owners reported that they are able to meet the expenses of maintaining their building. However, two reported that their building is in poor condition, and three that it is in fair condition. Both of the participants who rated their buildings as being in poor condition were men, one of whom was born in the North End the other in Italy. Both would like to move into a new apartment building if one were constructed in the area. Neither would like to leave the North End. All three persons who described their buildings as being in fair condition were women who were born in the North End. One of these women would like to leave the North End, and in fact has a condo in Florida where she winters. The other two were adamant about staying the North End. None gave further information regarding the condition of their properties, and all but one of the five with buildings in fair to poor condition planned to sell it. This is in contrast with the other eighteen owners, all but one of whom stated that they planned to keep their buildings indefinitely.

Twelve building owners stated that it was difficult for them to pay City of Boston property taxes. Seventeen participants said they were aware of the tax abatement program, and seven said they had used it.

Changes in the Community

Changes in the housing stock and residency patterns are closely related to overall changes in the North End. A

phenomenon that is having tremendous impact on those living and working in the North End is condominium conversion (see Part II, Section 2). A total of 1,439 condominiums were developed in the 16 years from 1973, when the phenomenon first appeared on the North End scene, through 1988. Of these, only 147 (10%) were new construction, while 1,292 (90%) were conversions of existing structures. There is no data on the number of North End residents who were forced to move out of the neighborhood because of the 1,292 conversions of existing structures, but the cost of this converted housing may well have been more than many long-time North Enders could afford.

The great majority (69) of participants said they noticed changes in the neighborhood in the past ten years, adding comments such as "All the neighbors have moved. I don't know anybody on the street." "It was better before. People were friendlier." and "There are less Italian people than before."

The group interviews in particular give us a vivid picture of the North End experience in the earlier part of this century: families living in close proximity, helping each other; children playing on rooftops, in hallways, and on the streets; vital community life going on inside tenement buildings, on the streets, and in community centers. The residents felt that the whole neighborhood was an extension of their personal living space, perhaps offsetting the impact of small apartments. The North End was a community unto itself, from which residents rarely had to stray to find jobs, goods, or services.

Over the past decades the boundaries of the North End have become blurred, as high-rise condos on the waterfront add to the residential census of the area, and as younger working people, not necessarily of Italian extraction, move into the older buildings, often as owners of newly converted condominiums. As more and more of these "strangers" move into the neighborhood, older residents feel less safe. They are more prone to lock doors and to stay home in the evening.

Some of those interviewed remembered reciting historical facts to amuse tourists during their own childhood, and are aware that the North End has always been something of a tourist attraction. However, a number complain that the constant tourism has begun to erode the area's genuine neighborhood character. In particular, some participants mentioned the desecration of Saints' Day festivities by rowdy tourists, and many complained of the chronic parking crisis, exacerbated by the restaurant trade.

Depending on whether the Central Artery is depressed, the North End could be pressured even more by the ever-encroaching city around it.

Use of Medical Services

A strong percentage of the sample indicate both use of, and satisfaction with, available medical services. About two thirds (70% of the women and 63% of the men indicate that they have a doctor. About 90% of participants indicate visits to the doctor at least once per year, while 57% report two or more visits and nearly a quarter (23%) report at least four to five visits.

When participants were asked which medical facility(ies) they utilize, they named a total of 52 facilities, 30 of which were located in the North End. Thus 58% of medical services utilized by sample participants are in the North End.

Nearly half (46%) of participants indicated that they walk to medical services when they need them, followed by 28% who use private car or taxi, 16% public transportation, and 12% van service.

When asked how well medical services meet their needs, 56% indicated very well; 43% indicated satisfactory; and none indicated unsatisfactory (1% did not respond to the question).

Nearly four fifths (78%) of the sample indicated that they use some form of medication. Of those who do, 67% purchase and pick them up themselves, 8% have them delivered by the store, and 25% have someone pick them up for them.

When asked about shopping assistance, laundry, or errands in times of sickness, 22% indicated that a spouse was available and 49% indicated that another relative could help. Fourteen percent would utilize a paid helper, 12% would have no one, and 4% could call upon a friend.

It is a credit to the North End community that it has supported the development of the array of health care services available for its residents. Older residents, as evidenced by this sample, both know of the existence of services and feel comfortable in utilizing them.

Use of Social Services

Twenty-two percent of the participants reported that they have used Home Care services. Nine percent have received home-delivered meals, compared to 17% in a survey reported by AARP. None reported using respite or hospice services, despite evidence of need for them. The most popular services are medical: 90% indicated doctor visits and 23% have used Visiting Nurses. Over half (57%) reported using MBTA fare reductions, and 28% report using "The Ride." Twenty-four percent had used rent control. Nearly one quarter (23%) had attended senior centers, which ranks

well above the national average of 16% attendance.

Transportation and Parking

For these participants, who grew up in a world with few automobiles, the advent of the car has been both an advance and a source of irritation. In one of the group interviews, a woman wondered admiringly at a world where every adult seems to have a car, while others pointed to the problems this has created. As city-dwellers, most of the participants were used to walking to most destinations, and using public transportation for many others. Even now, when asked how they got to their doctor, the largest group (37) said they walked. Of the others, 24 take taxis, 23 use private cars, 13 use public transportation, and 10 use "The Ride." When asked overall what forms of transportation they used, the participants again listed walking first:

Walk	59%
Relative's car	48%
Taxi	40%
Bus	35%
Own car	20%
Van	13%
Friend	12%
Other	9%
Neighbor	3%

For the twenty participants who own their own car, parking is a major problem. Most report that if they take their car for a drive, they often cannot find a parking space on their return. Several stated that there are many more cars with North End resident stickers than there are legal spaces. The situation is even worse for the frailer elders, whose children drive in from the suburbs to visit or to pick them up. One woman reported that when her son comes to pick her up his wife must come along and stay in the car or he will get ticketed while he rings her doorbell. Especially in the winter, or for residents who need assistance to get down the stairs, and who cannot walk long distances, the inability of relatives to "stand" long enough to pick them up creates a serious hardship. Although our survey did not include parking as a possible use for the space which may be created over the depressed Central Artery, twenty of the participants suggested this as a desirable use.

Knowledge of and Attitudes Toward the Central Artery Issue

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has designed a proposal to replace the six-lane elevated section of the I-93 Central Artery with a new eight- to ten-lane road, mostly underground, between the Southeast Expressway and Charlestown. The project would also

extend the I-90 Massachusetts Turnpike to Logan Airport by constructing an access road and a new four-lane tunnel under Boston Harbor.

The underground artery is proposed to be constructed using the "cut and cover method" in which support walls and decking would be constructed over the excavation; two concrete tunnel boxes containing eight to ten lanes would be constructed; and surface streets would be rebuilt and the present elevated structure demolished.

Since this proposed project would take place immediately adjacent to the North End, community leaders in the North End are particularly interested in the degree to which older residents are aware of the proposed central artery project, what they feel about the project, and how its construction might impact the lives of older residents.

With regard to level of awareness of the proposed project, 94% of all participants indicated that they had heard about it (96% of the men, 91% of the women). All twenty-three of the property owners indicated awareness of the project along with 89% of renters.

When asked if they thought the project would have any affect on the North End neighborhood, 80% felt that it would, while 16% did not know, and 4% felt it would not. Thus, virtually all those who expressed an opinion felt that the construction would affect the North End. The effects stated by this group include:¹

"It will make it even more a place for the rich. Who can afford to live here?"

"It will affect us badly. Noise, air pollution & rats will run wild."

"Will bring much filth to area."

"I can see a lot of people running around and screaming about rats and mice."

"Traffic will be worse."

"It will be like taking a bulldozer and running it through the North End."

¹ The quotations used here are verbatim excerpts from the notes taken by the interviewers. The respondents' actual wording may have been different. For example, in the third quotation above, the actual wording was probably "It will bring much filth to the area."

"The whole North End will have to change their way of living. People who can't walk too well will have to stay in."

"It'll be a big mess here, cut off even more from Boston."

"Hear it might affect housing, some buildings may be torn down."

"Will ruin business in the North End, people won't come here to shop."

"Only 4 grocery stores left in North End. Could lose them."

"It will disrupt us for a long time."

When asked if they felt that the proposed project would affect them personally, 40% felt that it would, 38% felt it would not, and 22% did not know. Of those who felt that it would affect them directly, 44% are men and 56% are women. Of those who felt that it would not affect them, 38% are men and 62% are women. Interestingly, while 60% of property owners felt that the project would affect them as a resident, only 48% of renters felt that way. When asked what affects it would have people indicated:

"Dust, rats, worried that home might be touched."

"I'm afraid I won't be able to come and go as I please."

"Parking mainly."

"Might make it more difficult for family to visit -- parking will be worse."

"Drilling and noise."

When asked if they thought the project would ever get started, virtually all the participants said it would. Some comments included:

"Once their minds are made up, it will be done."

"They talk so much about it, it's got to be done."

"No matter how we feel, they will go ahead."

"Average people have no say!"

"I hope it don't, but I hear that things are on the move, and that means it won't be long."

"They say it will."

"Absolutely necessary because of increase in traffic problem."

"Because I see they are already doing certain things."

"There will be pressure from politicians and contractors and anybody who will make a profit to see it is done."

A number of participants remembered what the North End was like prior to the construction of the Central Artery. Among their descriptions were:

"We knew everyone in the neighborhood. Now we know no one."

"Could walk straight up Hanover St. to Scollay Square."

"It was home -- a wonderful place to live, as poor as we were."

"More houses and more people."

"Less traffic -- easier to park."

"I could walk straight up Hanover and have no disruption. There was a bowling alley. There was the American House to hold weddings. Now that is gone."

"They had streetcar running length of Hanover St., they killed Hanover St. It was beautiful. All open. Traffic wasn't bad."

"It was almost the same as today, except there was not the division or barrier that there is now, you know the highway."

"More stores all the way to Scollay Square."

"I remember all the stores -- E. E. Gray and Leopold Morse, especially E. E. Gray for groceries."

Most of the participants (77%) remembered when the housing in the West End was demolished. When asked if their families had any

ties to the old West End, a third of the participants indicated that they had. Almost 25% of the participants were directly affected by the destruction of the West End. Their experiences included:

"Friends had to move, most moved to Somerville and Medford had to pay higher rents, while losing the convenience of living in town."

"Friends had to move out of town -- couldn't visit any more -- lost them"

"Used to hang around with friends who lived there. Friend died heartbroken because his property that he had spent \$20,000 to fix up was taken away. Other friends evicted and went to Somerville, Arlington."

"I wasn't interested, never thought much about it. Missed stores in that area."

"It was terrible -- they threw people out of their homes and then left them empty spaces for years. Only the wealthy gained money on it. All the apartments there are very expensive."

"It was a mess -- they tore down houses that were better than the ones in the North End."

"There were a lot of broken hearts. I know people who get sick over it. People still talk about it."

Two thirds (66%) of the participants felt there were changes in the North End when the Central Artery was built. and 20% said they were personally affected. Comments included:

"Overhead highway was eyesore. Traffic pollution."

"You could walk up the street and be in Scollay Square. Now you have to go all the way around."

"Friends displaced from area. Business lost. Stores closed, Scollay Square isolated, no more movie houses."

"Drove car at that time and it was very difficult to get around the neighborhood."

"Changed atmosphere of area, people got lost and confused by changing streets."

"Lots of friends moved."

"Had a terrible time getting around, plus the noise and

confusion."

Participants were asked what they would like to see done with the strip of land over the Central Artery if it was placed underground. The most popular choices among those offered on the interview form were housing (77%), open space (56%), a recreation area (51%), and stores (40%). Thirty-eight percent volunteered other uses, primarily space for parking: "parking, plenty of parking"; "parking for North End residents"; "parking for relatives of North Enders at reasonable cost."

When asked if they were aware of efforts by North End community groups to influence how the land will be used when the Central Artery structure is taken down, 70% indicated that they were aware (84% of the men, 63% of the women).

When asked if they had attended any of the meetings held either by the city or North End Neighborhood Council, 19% indicated that they had. While 74% found the governmentally sponsored meetings informative, 96% found the meetings sponsored by the Neighborhood Council informative. 86% of participants had read about the proposed Central Artery project in the newspaper, and 60% had discussed the issue with friends.

When asked if they would be interested in attending a community meeting about the Central Artery project, 40% indicated willingness (50% of the men, 36% of the women). Fifty-eight percent would be interested in receiving written information about the project, and 25% would be willing to make neighbors aware of the project's impact on the neighborhood.

PART II

Section 1: THE NORTH END: A Review of The U. S. Census Data For The Years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980

THE NORTH END: A Neighborhood With Its Own Character and Boundary

The first task required of anyone reviewing U.S. Census data is to identify the geographic boundary that defines the area to be researched -- be it a state, country, city, or neighborhood.

The North End -- as used throughout this report -- is bounded by the Central Artery, Atlantic Avenue, Commercial Street, and North Washington Street. This boundary is believed to include all the areas that give the North End its special character -- and excludes all areas that do not reflect the neighborhood's traditions. (See Map on Page 23)

Statistically, the North End does not exist.

The Gerontology Institute, in its effort to understand the needs and aspirations of the elderly living in the North End, found a mass of data describing a number of different geographical areas -- all of which included the North End. But, surprising as it may be, the Institute did not find a single source of statistical information that described the North End as a distinct and separate neighborhood -- with its own character and boundary.

The need for cooperation between neighborhoods is obvious.

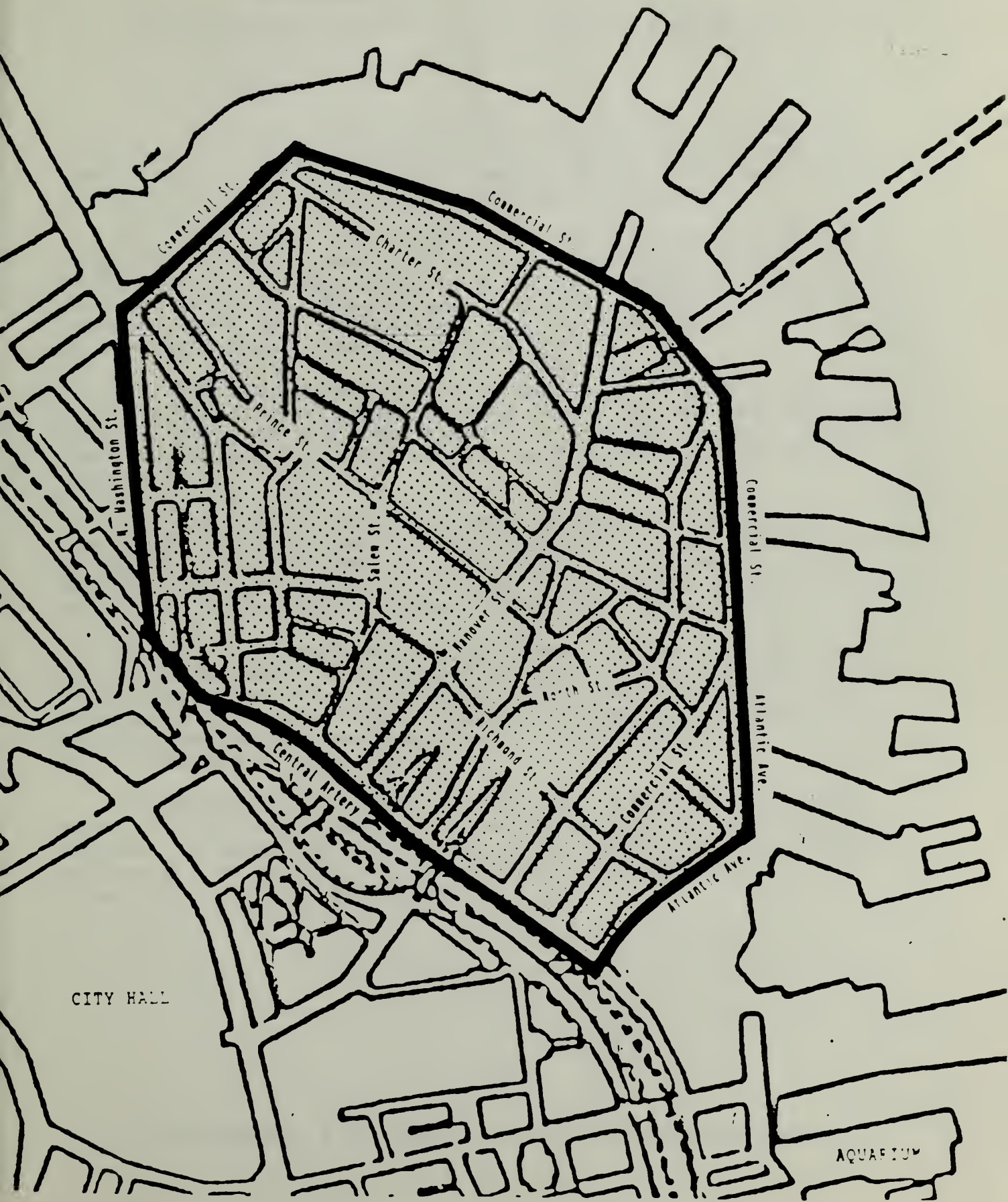
Residents of the North End work with those who live in the Waterfront, West End, Downtown, and other neighborhoods on issues and problems of mutual concern. And they do this, on a regular basis, within the structure of the North End's many neighborhood organizations.

But neighborhood cooperation is no substitute for a separate data base specific to the needs of the North End.

For instance, if there is a need for information on the rent levels paid by the elderly in the North End, it is essential that it be possible to separate the North End data on this issue from the data on rent levels paid by the elderly living in the Waterfront.



NORTH END



CITY HALL

AQUARIUM

Unfortunately, the data -- as currently aggregated -- do not make this possible.

For example:²

1. The U. S. Bureau of the Census, in 1980, collected a wide range of data on what it calls "Neighborhood Statistical Area # 48." This Neighborhood Statistical Area includes both the North End and the Waterfront. (See Map on Page 25)

2. The Boston Redevelopment Authority collects data and initiates its own research studies on a geographic area it calls "Neighborhood Planning District # 4." This Planning District includes Chinatown, Bay Village, a part of South Cove, West End, Downtown, Back Bay, Beacon Hill, and the Waterfront -- as well as the North End. (See Map on Page 26)

3. The U.S. Bureau of the Census collects data on what it calls Census Tracts. Five of these Census Tracts, when combined, include the North End. But they, also, include parts of Boston's Downtown, Beacon Hill, and all of the Waterfront. (See Map on Page 27)

4. The City of Boston collects an "Annual Listing of Residents, Including Registered Voters and All Residents 17 Years of Age and Over" for Ward 3: Precincts 1, 2, 3, and 4. These Precincts include not only the North End but also parts of the Waterfront and Downtown Boston. (See Map on Page 28)

5. The U.S. Post Office Department has basic data -- names and addresses, and, if people moved within a one year period, to where they moved -- on virtually all residents living in Zip Code Areas 02109 and 02113. These Zip Codes include parts of Downtown Boston and the Waterfront, and the North End. (See Map on Page 29)

In summary, all significant sources of information merge North End data with that of the larger geographic areas they define. As assembled -- without extensive modification -- these sources are of no help to anyone wanting to obtain an understanding of the North End.

² See APPENDIX B for Sources of North and Boston Data.

NEIGHBORHOOD STATISTICAL AREA # 48:

Composed of North End and Waterfront.

NORTH END

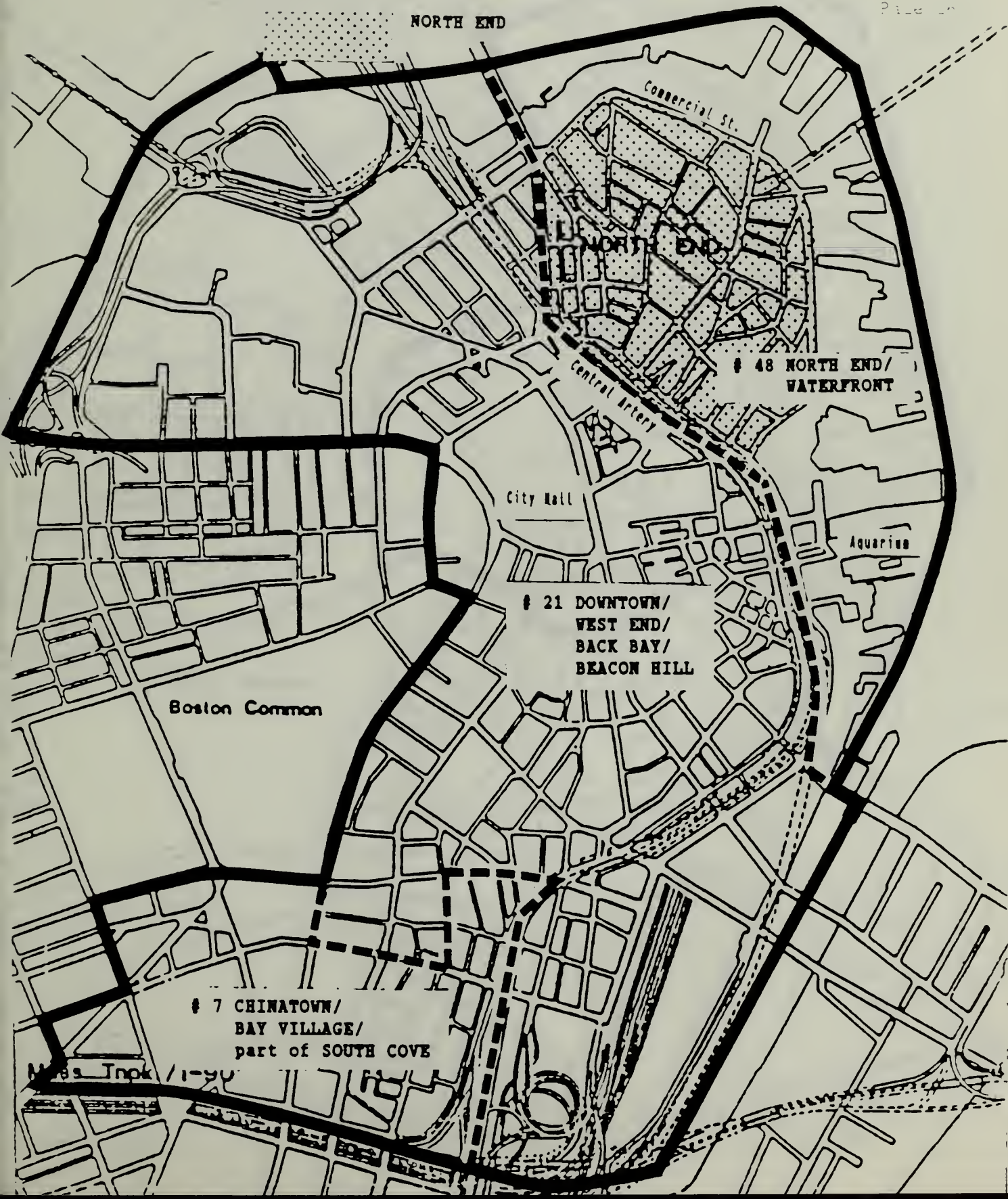
Page 25



PLANNING DISTRICT # 4:

Composed of Neighborhood Statistical Areas

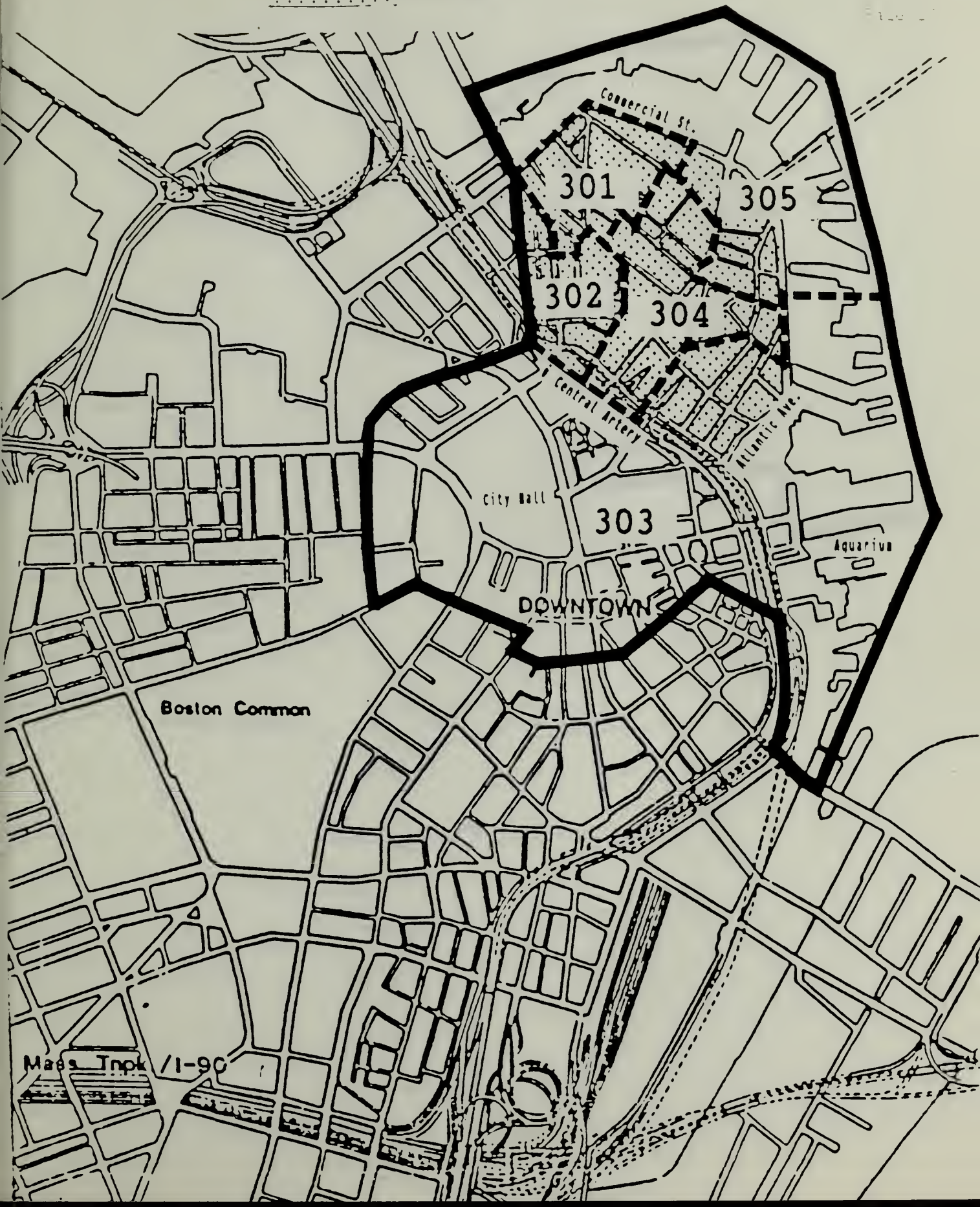
- # 7 Chinatown/Bay Village/part of South Cove;
- # 21 Downtown/West End/Back Bay/Beacon Hill; and
- # 48 North End/Waterfront.



CENSUS TRACT DISTRICT # 3:

Composed of Census Tracts 301 through 305.

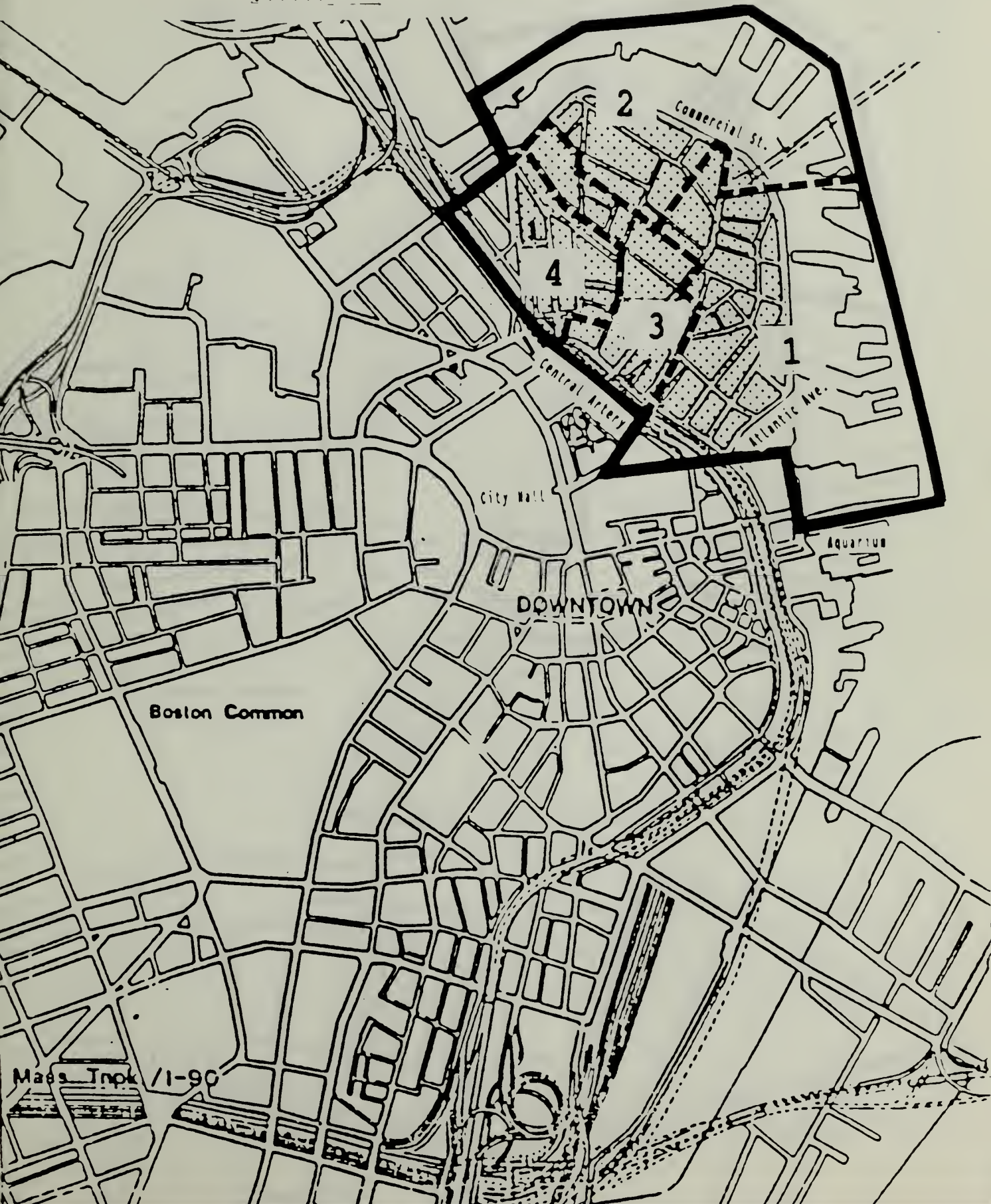
NORTH END



VOTING DISTRICT:

Composed of Ward 3, Precincts 1 through 4.

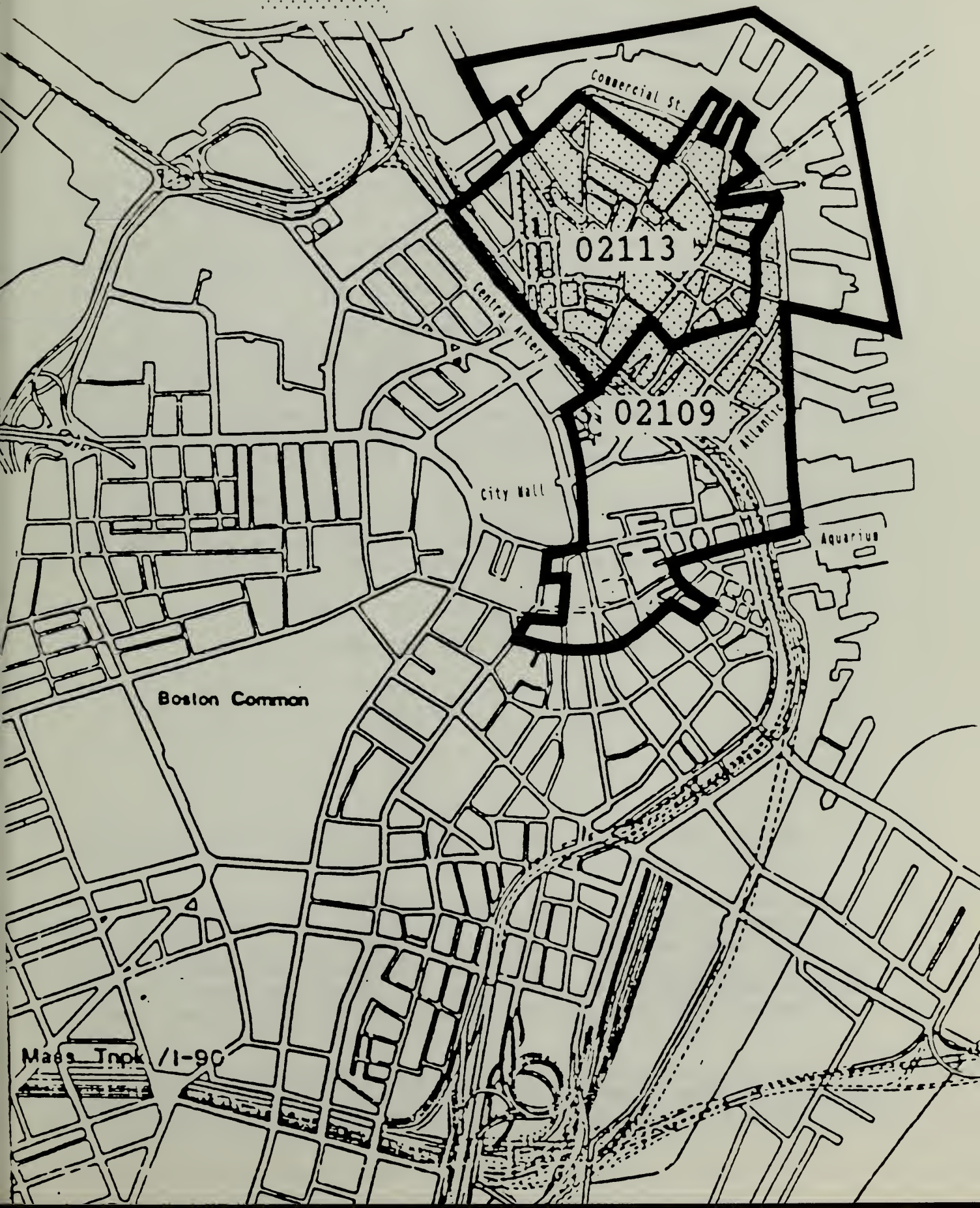
NORTH END



POSTAL DISTRICTS:

Composed of Zip Code Areas 02109 and 02113.

NORTH END



THE NORTH END: A Distinct and Separate Neighborhood

Clearly, it was necessary to modify the mass of available data to reflect the North End alone.

The method used to adjust the data to conform to the North End's boundary focused primarily on modifying the data originating from the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

A nation-wide "U.S. Census of Population and Housing" is taken every ten years. The last Census was in 1980. The next Census will take place in early 1990.

For what the Census Bureau calls "urbanized areas," such as the North End, data are published for geographic areas called Census Tracts. The North End is located within five Census Tracts. Combined, as described earlier, these five Census Tracts are larger than the North End -- as these Tracts include a part of Boston's Downtown, a part of Beacon Hill, all of the Waterfront, as well as the North End. (See Map on Page?)

For the years 1950 and 1960, these five Census Tracts are identified as F-1, F-2, F-3, F-4, and F-5. For the years 1970 and 1980, these same Census Tracts are identified as 301, 302, 303, 304, and 305. Their comparability is as follows:

Table 3: Census Tract Comparability

1950 and 1960	1970 and 1980
---------------	---------------

F-2	301
F-5	302
F-3	303
F-4	304
F-1	305

THE NORTH END: Converting Census Tracts Into Census Blocks

Since parts of the five Census Tracts, in which the North End is located, are outside the North End, it was necessary to convert these Census Tracts into what the Census Bureau calls Census Blocks and Census Block Groups. A Block is the smallest unit of Census geography. A combination of Blocks make a Block Group. And a combination of Block Groups comprise a Census Tract.

Identifying which Blocks and Block Groups are located inside and which are outside the North End's boundary, made it possible to collect data, by Census Blocks, for the North End alone -- and

exclude data from other Boston neighbor-hoods. By simply adding up the data for those Blocks located inside the North End -- in theory, at least -- it would be possible to collect data that was specific to the North End.

Unfortunately, Census Block and Census Block Group data are not readily available.

No data, by Block Group, are published. Data are available only on tape. And much of this taped material is based on samples and requires extrapolation to achieve a 100% count that can be used.

Much of the Block data is not published. And it is not available on tape. For the year 1950, the published Census material by Blocks is limited to data on housing. The only way to derive useful population data for 1950, therefore, was to extrapolate from the available housing data.

In spite of the difficulty, the importance of converting Census Tracts into Census Blocks -- in order to accurately define the North End as a distinct and separate neighborhood -- was confirmed by the large discrepancies that surfaced between the data based on Census Tracts and the data based on Census Blocks.

For instance, the five Census Tracts in which the North End is located include in 1980 a total of 144 Census Blocks. Of these 144 Census Blocks, 69 Blocks (48%) are located in the North End and 75 Blocks (52%) are outside the North End's boundary.

In terms of population, the five Census Tracts had a total 1980 population of 11,340, while the North End itself had only 9,080 persons -- a difference between the two approaches of 1,260 people (11%).

The whole process of adjusting Census data to conform to a North End distinct and separate from other neighborhoods was a difficult and time consuming task. But it was the only way statistical data could be reasonably used to understand the North End's tradition and character.

THE NORTH END: Census Data, As Adjusted To Conform To The North End's Boundary.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census collects at least 146 categories of information.

This report's analyses of Census Block data -- as adjusted for the North End's boundary -- focus on ten Census categories

that give the most significant insights into the North End's character and tradition. They are:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Population | 6. Years of School Completed |
| 2. Age | 7. School Enrollment |
| 3. Race | 8. Poverty |
| 4. Foreign Birth and Ancestry | 9. Housing |
| 5. Language | 10. Median Rent |

1. POPULATION

a. In 1950 -- thirty-nine years ago -- more than 16 thousand people (16,511) lived in the North End. Thirty years later, when the U. S. Census was last taken, the North End had lost almost one-half (45%) of its residents. Just nine thousand people (9,080) called the North End home in 1980.

Table 4: North End Population, 1950 - 1980

	1950	1960	1970	1980
North End Population	16,511 (100%)	11,896 (72%)	10,268 (62%)	9,080 (55%)
Population Loss From 1950		4,615 (28%)	6,243 (38%)	7,431 (45%)

b. The sharp decline in the North End's population between 1950 and 1980 is even more apparent when one looks at the statistics by Census Blocks.³

Seventy-five Census Blocks are located within the North End neighborhood. Fifty-seven of these Blocks (76%) experienced a substantial decrease in their population between 1950 and 1980.

For instance, those who lived between 1950 and 1980 in the Census Block bounded by Prince, Salem, Richmond, and Hanover Streets -- right in the heart of the North End -- know that many of their former neighbors no longer live in their Block. Statistically, this Block lost 67% of its residents -- down to 181 persons in 1980, from 543 persons in 1950.

Similarly, those who during the same thirty year period lived near the Waterfront in the Block bounded by Charter, Hanover, Commercial, and Henchman Streets saw the same pattern -- a declining population. In 1950, 1,230 people lived in this

³ See APPENDIX C for North End population, by Census Tracts and Blocks.

Block. By 1980, only 486 persons -- a loss of 61% -- resided in the Block.

Only seven Census Blocks, out of 75 Blocks, increased their population during these three decades. Six of these Blocks make up the elongated triangle located between the Central Artery, Atlantic Avenue, and Commercial Street, where the number of people grew from zero population, in 1950, to 503 persons in 1980.

This triangle is on the Waterfront side of the North End, and its growth reflected the start of the high-rent residential development of the Waterfront -- the area between Boston's harbor and the Commercial Street-Atlantic Avenue line. Between 1950 and 1980, the Waterfront's population, outside the North End, soared by more than four thousand percent -- from 41 persons in 1950 to 1,779 persons in 1980.

c. In 1950, the North End's 16,511 people comprised only 2% of Boston's total population. Between 1950 and 1980, at the same time that the North End's population declined by almost one-half, the City of Boston lost close to one-third (30%) of its population -- down from 801,414 in 1950 to 562,994 in 1980. As a result, combined with a greater growth of population in other neighborhoods, the North End -- in 1960, 1970, and 1980 -- remained stable, with the same 2% of Boston's population.

Table 5: Boston/North End Populations, 1950-1980

	1950	1960	1970	1980
Boston	801,441	697,197	641,071	562,994
Population	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
North End	16,511	11,895	10,268	9,080
Population	(2.1%)	(1.7%)	(1.6%)	(1.5%)

2. AGE

Another clue to the radical changes that took place between 1950 and 1980 in the population of the North End can be seen in the Census data on the neighborhood's age groups.

Back in 1950, 9% of the North End's total population (16,511 persons) were under 5 years of age (1,414 children). By 1980, persons under 5 years old had shrunk to only 2% (166 children) -- a reduction in numbers of 1,248 children.

As for the North End's senior citizens -- defined in this report to be people 65 years old or over -- the pattern is

equally startling. While the actual number of persons 65 years or over remained virtually the same as in 1950, the percentage of North End elderly, in 1980, almost doubled -- from 8% in 1950 to 15% of the North End's total population of 9,080.

Table 6: North End Population, by Age Groups, 1950 and 1980

	1950	1980
Total Population	16,511 (100%)	9,080 (100%)
Total Persons Under 5 Years of Age	1,414 (9%)	166 (2%)
Total Persons 65 Years of Age and Over	1,371 (8%)	1,375 (15%)

3. RACE

Between 1950 and 1980 -- thirty years -- Boston's Non-White population increased from 5% (42,744 persons) in 1950 to 30% (169,057 persons) in 1980.

During the same period, the North End's Non-White population remained virtually nonexistent. Statistically, in 1950, the Non-White population living in the North End numbered 78 persons -- less than one-half of one percent of the neighborhood's total population of 16,511.

By 1980, the number of Non-White persons in the North End increased slightly -- from 78 to 111 people. But the Non-White population in the North End still represented only a shade more than one percent of the neighborhood's 9,080 residents.

Table 7: Boston and North End Populations, by Race, 1950 and 1980

	Boston		North End	
	1950	1980	1950	1980
Total Population	801,444 (100%)	562,994 (100%)	16,511 (100%)	9,080 (100%)
Total White Population	758,700 (95%)	393,937 (70%)	16,433 (99.5%)	8,069 (98.8%)
Total Non-White Population	42,744 (5%)	169,057 (30%)	78 (0.5%)	111 (1.2%)

The Census Bureau identifies the North End's Non-White population, in 1980, as being composed of 33 Blacks; 3 American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleutian Islanders; 24 Asian or Pacific Islanders; and 51 who are listed as "Other."

4. FOREIGN BIRTH AND ANCESTRY

a. As used by the Census Bureau, "foreign born" and "ancestry" are two different categories. As defined by the Census Bureau foreign born means "first generation immigrants." Ancestry identifies "people with several generations of ethnic or national origin."

The 1950 Census -- and, as well, those in 1860 and 1970 -- counted foreign born by both their number and their country of origin. Unfortunately, they did not include data on ancestry.

On the other hand, while the 1980 Census counted the number of foreign born, it -- also, unfortunately -- did not include data identifying the country of origin. The 1980 Census did, however, collect data on ancestry.

Table 8: Data Available for Foreign Born, Country of Origin, and Ancestry, U.S. Census 1950-1980

Category	1950	1960	1970	1980
North End Foreign Born	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
North End Country of Origin	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
North End Italian Born	No	No	No	Yes

b. Country of origin long ago ceased to be a basis for describing the North End as an Italian neighborhood. Thirty-nine years ago, in 1950, only 26% of the people living in the North End were born in Italy.

As stated earlier, the 1980 Census did not identify country of origin. But it did report the number of foreign born. In the thirty years -- between 1950 and 1980 -- the number of foreign born living in the North End dropped a huge 60% -- down, in 1980, to 1,775 from 4,470 in 1950. As for Italian born North End residents, it is estimated they, too, declined by about 60% between 1950 and 1980.

Table 9: North End Total Population,
and Foreign- and Italian-Born, 1950 and 1980

	1950	1980
Total Population	16,511 (100%)	9,030 (10%)
Foreign Born	4,470 (27%)	1,775 (20%)
Foreign Born Loss 1950-1980		2,695 (60%)
Italian Born	4,217 (26%)	1,725 (estimated) (19%)
Italian Born Loss 1950-1980		2,530 (estimated) (60%)

c. Despite the loss between 1950 and 1980 of Italian born residents living in the North End, one aspect of the country of origin statistic played a strong role in maintaining the neighborhood's Italian flavor. The 4,217 North End residents, in 1950, who were born in Italy comprised almost all (94%) of the neighborhood's total of 4,470 foreign born. The same relationship between Italian born and foreign born is estimated to have taken place in 1980.

Table 10: North End Foreign and Italian Born,
Population, 1950 and 1980

	1950	1980
Foreign Born	4,470 (100%)	1,775 (100%)
Italian Born	4,217 (94%)	1,725 (estimated) (97%)

d. Ancestry, as defined earlier, identifies people with several generations of ethnic or national origins. Data relating to ancestry are available only from the 1980 Census.

There are two categories of ancestry in the 1980 Census. The first, identifies persons, by country, with a single ancestry (i.e. Italian, Irish, English, etc.). The second, quantifies multiple ancestry persons (i.e. Italian and English, etc.).

Today it is Italian ancestry -- not Italian birth -- that is

the basis for the perception that the North End is predominately an Italian neighborhood. Combining both single and multiple ancestry categories, 61% (5,501 persons) of the neighborhood's total residents in 1980 were of Italian ancestry.

People of Irish ancestry -- 1,204 persons, in 1980 -- were the North End's second largest ethnic group, comprising 13% of the neighborhood's total population. Those of English ancestry (766 persons, or 8% of the neighborhood's population -- were the third largest ethnic group living in the North End in 1980.

Table 11: North End Ancestry, 1980

Population	9,080	(100%
Italian Ancestry	5,501	(61%
Irish Ancestry	1,204	(13%
English Ancestry	766	(8%
Other Ethnic or National Ancestry	1,609	(18%

e. While the North Enders of Italian ancestry, in 1980, obviously lived in all of the Census Blocks in the neighborhood, they were particularly dominant in Blocks located inland from the harbor -- away from the Waterfront.

For instance, Census Blocks roughly bounded by the Central Artery, and Salem, Endicott, and North Washington Streets had a total of 1,470 residents. Seventy-nine percent (1,160 persons) of the total population living in these Blocks in 1980 were of Italian ancestry.

On the other hand, Census Blocks roughly bounded by the Central Artery, Atlantic Avenue, Commercial, Charter, and North Streets were home, in 1980, to only 344 persons of Italian ancestry -- just 27% of the 1,271 residents living in these Census Blocks.

5. LANGUAGE

Probably the most important factor that has helped maintain the Italian flavor of the North End is the large number of neighborhood residents who, as defined by the Bureau of the Census, "speak a language other than English at home."

As late as 1980, there were 3,236 people living in the North End who spoke a language other than English at home -- presumably

Italian. This was 36% of the North End's total population and 59% of the neighborhood's 5,501 persons of Italian ancestry.

Equally significant in maintaining the Italian flavor of the North End was that, in 1980, 747 North End residents -- 14% of those of Italian ancestry -- spoke English "not well" or, of more impact on the North End, "not at all."

6. YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

In 1950, 59% (9,777 people) of the North End's 16,511 residents were 25 years old and over. By 1980, the number of North Enders in this age group had decreased by over three thousand -- to 6,675 persons.

But because the number of residents living in the North End had fallen, between 1950 and 1980, from 16,511 to 9,080, the percentage of residents 25 years old and over, had actually increased, from 59% in 1950 to 74% in 1980.

Of the North End residents 25 years old and over in 1950, 16% (1,548 persons) had not completed any school whatsoever. Unfortunately, no comparison with 1980 can be made because the 1980 Census did not enumerate this "No School" category.

North End residents who only completed elementary school fell from 1,548 (16% of those 25 and over) in 1950 to a low of 585 in 1980 (9%). High school completion increased from 1,040 (10%) in 1950 to 1,589 persons (24%) in 1980.

Table 12: North End Years of School Completed, 1950 and 1980

	1950	1980
Total Persons 25 Years Old and Over	9,977 (100%)	6,675 (100%)
No School	1,548 (16%)	Not Available
Elementary	1,321 (14%)	585 (9%)
High School	1,040 (11%)	1,589 (24%)
College	213 (2%)	1,759 (26%)

College completions, between 1950 and 1980, soared from 23 (211 persons) of the North Enders 25 years and over in 1950 to 26% (1,759 persons) in 1980 -- an increase of over fifteen hundred students.

7. SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

The Census Bureau did not collect data on school enrollment in 1950, so the following summary uses 1960 statistics as a starting point.

Four categories of schools were included in both the 1960 and 1980 Census -- kindergarten/nursery, elementary, high school and college. In all categories but college -- both in terms of percentages and actual numbers -- North End residents enrolled in school dropped dramatically in the twenty years between 1960 and 1980. Undoubtedly, this drop in school enrollment would have been even more dramatic if the 1950 data had been available.

In percentages, in 1960, 18% of those living in the North End were enrolled in the first three school categories: kindergarten/nursery, elementary, and high school. By 1980, only 10% of those living in the neighborhood were enrolled in these three types of schools.

Table 13: North End School Enrollment, 1960 and 1980

	1960	1980
1. Total Population	11,895 (100%)	9,080 (100%)
2. Kindergarten/ Nursery	147 (1%)	51 (1%)
3. Elementary	1,492 (13%)	466 (5%)
4. High School	607 (5%)	67 (1%)
Sub-Total 2 - 4	2,146 (18%)	884 (10%)
5. College	119 (1%)	523 (6%)

In numbers, 2,146 North End residents in 1960 were students in these three categories of schools in 1960, but only 884 were enrolled in these schools in 1980 -- a loss of 1,262 students in the twenty years between 1960 and 1980.

On the other hand, between 1960 and 1980, North End residents enrolled in college increased from 119 in 1960 to 523 in 1980.

8. POVERTY

Poverty is not usually associated with the North End. But the Census data indicate otherwise.

According to the 1980 Census, 13% (1,162 people) of the North End's total population of 9,080 were "persons for whom poverty status is determined." Almost half of them (567 people, or 49%) were 60 years old and over. Thus, in 1980, 6% of the North End's total population were elderly people in poverty status.

Today, almost ten years later, the North End's elderly in poverty status may well have increased -- either in actual numbers or percent of the neighborhood's total population. In spite of the public's perception, impoverished elderly are a real part of the North End scene.

9. HOUSING

a. In 1950, there were a total of 4,671 dwellings in the North End. By 1980, this number of housing units had increased by almost 700 -- to 5,360 dwellings

Between 1950 and 1980, the number of owner-occupied housing units also increased from 444 in 1950 to 739 in 1980.

Table 14: North End Housing, 1950 and 1980

	1950	1980
Total	4,671	5,360
Housing units	(100%)	(100%)
Total Owner-Occupied Units	444 (10%)	739 (14%)
Total Renter-Occupied Units	4,118 (88%)	4,089 (76%)

This increase in owner-occupied housing probably reflected the start -- in the 1970s -- of the large scale conversion of rental housing into owner-occupied condominiums. Possibly confirming this conclusion is the fact that renter-occupied housing remained virtually unchanged during this same thirty

year period: 4,118 in 1950 and 4,089 (a drop of only 29) in 1980.

b. One possibly surprising statistic surfaced in the 1950 Census data on housing conditions. Only thirty-nine years ago, according to the Census Bureau figures, -- only thirty-nine years ago -- 94% of the North End's total dwelling units (4,368 out of 4,671) had either no running water or private bath or were dilapidated.

The Census Bureau did not collect the same information in its 1980 Census. Instead, it collected data on the number of occupied housing units "lacking complete plumbing for exclusive use." Of the total 5,360 dwelling units in the North End in 1980, 448 (8%) were in this category.

Table 15: North End Housing, by Condition, 1950 and 1980

	1950	1980
Total Housing Units	4,671 (100%)	5,360 (100%)
Total Housing Units with either No Running Water, or No Bath, or Dilapidated	4,368 (94%)	-----
Total Occupied Housing Units Lacking Complete Plumbing For Exclusive Use	-----	448 (8%)

10. MEDIAN RENT

Confirming nostalgia for the good old days, the Census data on monthly rentals in the North End are a shock.

According to the 1950 Census, the monthly rents ranged from a low of \$19 to a high of \$29. The monthly median rent for the North End in 1950 -- median is defined as "the middle value in a distribution, above and below which lie an equal number of values"-- was \$23.

In 1980 -- still a shocker -- the monthly rents ranged from a low of \$98 to a high of \$515. The monthly median rent for the North End, in 1980, was \$223.

Section 2: Condominium Conversions and New Construction,
1973-1988

Data on condominium conversions are not enumerated by the Bureau of the Census.

But the condominium phenomenon is having such a tremendous impact on those living and working in the North End that data obtained from the Boston Redevelopment Authority's Planning and Research Department are included as an appendix to this report.

A total of 1,439 condominiums were developed in the sixteen years from 1973, when the phenomenon first burst upon the North end scene, through 1988. Of these, only 147 (10%) were new construction and 1,292 (90%) were conversions of existing structures.

In the first seven years -- 1973 through 1979 -- 423 condominiums were developed. The pace has been much more intense in the nine years since 1980, with 1,027 housing units (71% of the sixteen-year total) being converted during these years.

There are no data on the number of North End residents who were forced to move out of the neighborhood because of the 1,292 conversions of existing structures. But the cost of this housing converted into condominiums in all probability was more than many long-time North Enders could afford.

The following is a list of North End condominium master deeds -- by alphabetical street addresses and the number of housing units. New construction, rather than condominium conversion, is indicated by an asterisk. The abbreviation d.u." means dwelling units.

<u>Street Address</u>	<u># d.u.</u>	<u>Street Address</u>	<u># d.u.</u>
127 Atlantic Av	12	15 Charter St	5
45-63 Atlantic Av	44	38 Charter St	20
		6 Charter St	3
8-12 Battery St	19	19 Charter St	7
9-15 Battery St	10	57 Charter St	16
26 Battery St	4		
32 Battery St	30	28 Clark St	12
5 Battery St	6	33 Clark St	4
21 Battery St	24		
		146 Commercial St	5
103 Charter St	5	440 Commercial St	5 *
34 Charter St	9	402 Commercial St	4
43.5 Charter St	6	78-80 Commercial St	5
33 Charter St	7	480 Commercial St	10
31 Charter St	4		

<u>Street Address</u>	<u># d.u.</u>	<u>Street Address</u>	<u># d.u.</u>
120 Commercial St	24	139 Fulton St	5
166 Commercial St	5	121 Fulton St	5
540-44 Commercial St	8		
126-44 Commercial St	35	14 Hanover Pl	15
300 Commercial St	105 *		
338 Commercial St	4	287-95 Hanover St	10
556 Commercial St	4	440 Hanover St	22
348 Commercial St	3	422-24 Hanover St	5
252 Commercial St	6	426 Hanover St	5
328 Commercial St	20	283-85 Hanover St	4
232 Commercial St	4		
342 Commercial St	9	22 Henschman St	10
158-60 Commercial St	4	20 Henschman St	8
102 Commercial St	5	4-6 Henschman St	9
90 Commercial St	6	10-16 Henschman St	30
106 Commercial St	4		
110-12 Commercial St	6	5 Holden Ct	5
236 Commercial St	6		
170 Commercial St	5	36 Hull St	13
		14 Hull St	5
22 Cooper St	5		
29 Cooper St	5	1 Hull St Ct	5
		2 Hull St Ct	5
198 Endicott St	4		
162 Endicott St	5	2 Michelangelo St	5
40-42 Fleet St	6	14 North Square	4
23 Fleet St	13	16 North Square	4
5-7 Fleet St	5		
57 Fleet St	2	350 North St	37 *
32-36a Fleet St	21	271-77 North St	9
45 Fleet St	10	250 North St	10
		243 North St	10
11 Foster St	5	258 North St	5
16 Foster St	10	187 North St	10
		301 North St	5
99 Fulton St	36	248-54 North St	10
125 Fulton St	5		
112-14 Fulton St	13	2 N. Bennet Pl	5
113 Fulton St	5		
120 Fulton St	19	7 N. Hanover Ct	4
122-32 Fulton St	23		
75 Fulton St	13	27-29 N. Margin St	4
57 Fulton St	12	76-78 N. Margin St	6
108 Fulton St	2	69 N. Margin St	10
53 Fulton St	5		

<u>Street Address</u>	<u># d.u.</u>
138 Prince St	10
105 Prince St	5
90-92 Prince St	5
152-58 Prince St	16
56 Prince St	14
136 Prince St	11
53-65 Prince St	24
99A Prince St	8
126 Prince St	11
84 Prince St	20
88 Prince St	9

115 Salem St	17
200 Salem St	8
146 Salem St	5
181 Salem St	20
63 Salem St	5
157 Salem St	5
174 Salem St	4
119-21 Salem St	16
77 Salem St	12
201 Salem St	6
160 Salem St	13
57-61 Salem St	19
65 Salem St	5
90 Salem St	10

34 Sheafe St	4
37 Sheafe St	8
26 Sheafe St	4

31 Snow Hill St	4
17 Snow Hill St	5

18 Stillman St	4
2 Stillman Pl	4

15 Thacher St	4
3 Thacher St	6
13 Thacher St	8

23 Tileston St	4
47-49 Tileston St	9

<u>Street Address</u>	<u># d.u.</u>
26 Unity St	5
11 Unity St	8
23 Unity St	3
7 Unity St	10
8 Wiget St	4
Total	1,439
* Less new construction	147
Total Condo Conversion	1,292

Section 3: A Recommendation For The Use Of Future Census Data

In 1980 the U.S. Bureau of the Census, in collaboration with the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) made a first-time effort to provide "...a portrait of the people and their housing in Boston's neighborhood areas."

Sixty-two neighborhoods were identified and Census data were made available "in detail and in readable and accessible format" so as to be "useful for a variety of planning and policy purposes."

Neighborhood Statistical Area # 48, combining the North End and the Waterfront, was one of the products of this Census Bureau/BRA collaboration. (See Map on Page 25)

However, as discussed earlier in this report, the Neighborhood Statistical Areas are not so much neighborhoods as they are a collection of neighborhoods.

Recognizing this fact, the Boston Redevelopment Authority has begun to disassemble these statistical areas into Special Study Areas. For instance, the BRA has hewed out of two large Neighborhood Statistical Areas a small "Chinatown Survey Area." Similarly, the BRA has formed five "Special Study Areas" out of the Allston-Brighton Neighborhood Statistical Area

The North End community -- already severely impacted by soaring housing costs and potentially adversely affected by the construction of the depressed Central Artery -- deserves the same attention from the Mayor and the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

No time should be lost in approaching the Mayor and the Boston Redevelopment Authority. The 1990 Census will begin in less than one year --in April of 1990. This is the ideal moment for North End community to insist that the Boston Redevelopment Authority prepare a source of information that serves the specific needs of the North End -- especially the neighborhood's elderly and its elderly poor.

PART III

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In reviewing the information provided by the survey participants, and the statistical research which was conducted, we draw the following conclusions relative to the aging population in the North end and the changes which are taking place in the community:

Population

The makeup of the North End's population has changed dramatically since 1950. The children have virtually disappeared and the older population has increased proportionately, while the area has remained at roughly the same percentage of the city's total population.

While 9% of the North End population was under age 5 in 1950, this percentage had shrunk to 2% by 1980. In contrast, the older population, while remaining virtually the same in numbers (1,375 in 1980), grew from 8% to 15% of the population. Not only has the face of the North End aged, but once the present generations of middle- and older-age residents pass on they will not be replaced by the "children of the neighborhood."

Income and Living Arrangements of Older Residents

Older women in the North End mirror many of the economic issues facing older women generally. They are widowed to a far greater extent than older North End men (three to one) and live alone more frequently. On average their incomes are lower than men, with 73% having annual incomes below \$13,000 and 20% relying on Supplemental Security Income (compared to 1% of the men).

Older North End women face many of the economic and lifestyle issues facing all older women. There is a direct relationship between living alone, living on low income, and being female. The rapid economic and housing-market changes taking place in the North End could have a most direct and negative impact on these women, due to their limited resources.

Housing Status

For those older persons who have been able to remain in the North End, either because of home ownership or ability to maintain a rental unit, their housing situation is generally satisfactory due to affordability and general quality. We were unable, however, to track the percentage of older persons who

have been displaced due to the significant condominium activity which has occurred in the neighborhood.

Older residents who have been able to remain in the North End have experienced increased housing costs, either through taxes or rental increases, but are generally positive about their housing situation. Rents for this group have risen, but not to the extent experienced either by "newcomers" in the neighborhood or by older renters in other parts of the city, unless they have had to move. Much of this has to do with longevity in their apartments and/or the relationships of neighborhood residents.

As seen in this report, the amount of condominium conversion in the North End is not only significant, it is focused on existing housing units rather than new construction. The assumption must be made that not all former residents of these converted buildings were either able to purchase, or interested in purchasing, their former apartments. Questions must be asked: What happened to these former tenants? What were their ages? Where did they go?

Community Change

There is no question that the North End has and is undergoing significant population, ethnic, and economic change. The community is losing its strong, tight-knit ethnic base as these changes occur.

When asked to describe the North End today, one person remarked that "the North End is still an Italian community only on the street level. Above that the newcomers and the new money have taken over." While not absolutely correct, this statement captures the feeling of many residents interviewed, as well as what is happening to the neighborhood. There is a feeling of less self-sufficiency as individuals and as a neighborhood. Stores have closed, consumer services are less available. There is a certain sadness reflected in older residents' remarks about what the neighborhood was, and what it is becoming.

Concerns about the Central Artery Project

The majority of older residents interviewed indicate that they are aware of the proposed Central Artery Project and are very concerned about how it will affect the North End, their families, and themselves.

Residents voiced strong concern over the issues of neighborhood disruption, noise, dirt and air pollution, and the influx of rats once the project is underway. They also expressed concern over the disruption of business within the neighborhood,

the possible threat to their housing, and the interference with their own lives and with visits by their families.

The North End's Statistical Needs

At the present time the North End community does not have access to statistical data pertinent solely to its own neighborhood. Such a need exists for analysis of community change, planning for the future, and advocacy on behalf of services and resources needed by its residents.

In 1980 the U.S. Bureau of the Census, in collaboration with the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA), made a first-time effort to provide "a portrait of the people and their housing in Boston's neighborhood areas." Sixty-two neighborhoods were identified and Census data were made available "in detail and in readable and accessible format" so as to be useful for a variety of planning and policy purposes."

Unfortunately, for the North End, these Neighborhood Statistical Areas are not so much neighborhoods as they are a collection of neighborhoods. The North End, in fact, is combined with the Waterfront, thus skewing its data.

Recognizing this fact, the BRA has been disassembling several of these statistical areas into Special Study Areas. Chinatown, for example, has been selected as such a study area. The North End, justifiably, deserves to be selected by the Mayor and the BRA for similar attention. North End leaders should secure a commitment from the BRA to prepare a source of information which serves the needs of the North End, especially its poor and elderly.

Appendix A: PERSONS PROVIDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Audrey Aschiero, Administrator, North End Community Nursing Home
Beth Bower, Archaeologist, Central Artery, Third Harbor Tunnel Project
Gordon Brigham, Former Planning Consultant, Central Artery/Third Harbor Tunnel Project
Gary Brown, Planner, Boston Redevelopment Authority
Karl Siebert Bynoe, Census Awareness Specialist, Library and Publication Department, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Boston
Ferdinand Carangelo, North End Union
Robert Dello-Russo, Representative Salvatore DiMasi's Staff
Lucy Ferullo, Office of Neighborhood Services, City of Boston
William Ferullo, Former Chair, North End/Waterfront Neighborhood Council
Mary Frasca, North End Union
Alexander Ganz, Director, Policy Development and Research, Boston Redevelopment Authority
Rolf Goetze, Housing Consultant, Policy Development and Research, Boston Redevelopment Authority
Conetta Graceffa, North End/West End Neighborhood Service Center
Nancy Ellen Hayes, Boston Redevelopment Authority
Patrick Leehey, Education Co-Ordinator, Paul Revere House
Samuel Mintz, Land Use Consultant, Boston Redevelopment Authority
Jacopo Madaro More, Technical Translator and Interpreter
William Murray, Office Manager, Massachusetts Institute for Social and Economic Research (MISER)
Catharine O'Brien, Statistical Information Staff, Population Division, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.
Robert O'Brien, Former Executive Director, North End Union
Gloria Ortiz, WCVB-TV (Channel 5)
Gregory Perkins, Deputy Director, Policy Development and Research, Boston Redevelopment Authority
Joseph Sgarano, Manager for Public Participation, Central Artery/Third Harbor Tunnel Project
Donald Thompson, North End/Waterfront Neighborhood Council
Lia Tota, Executive Director, North End/West End Neighborhood Service Center

Appendix B: SOURCES OF NORTH END AND BOSTON DATA

1. 1989: "North End Condominium Master Deeds: 3y Year, Address, and the Number of Housing Units." Rolf Goetze, Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research Department.
2. 1987: "Annual Listing of Residents Including Registered Voters and All Residents 17 Years of Age and Over," Ward 3, Precincts 1, 2, 3, and 4, City of Boston.
3. 1984: "Boston and the North End: Recent and Prospective Development and Related Impacts on Housing." Gregory W. Perkins, Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research Department.
4. 1983: "Boston Population and Housing by Neighborhood Areas, 1980." Demographic Information from the U.S. Bureau of the Census in Collaboration with the City of Boston and the Boston Redevelopment Authority.
5. 1980: "Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Boston, Mass."
6. 1980: "Census of Population and Housing, Block Statistics, Boston, Mass."
7. 1980: "Census of Population and Housing, Block Group Statistics, Summary File 1A, Massachusetts: Suffolk County: Boston City."
8. 1980: "Census of Population and Housing, Block Group Statistics, Summary File 3A, Massachusetts: Suffolk County: Boston City."
9. 1970: "Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Boston, Mass."
10. 1970: "Census of Housing, Block Statistics, Boston, Mass."
11. 1960: "U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Census Tracts, Boston, Mass."
12. 1960: "U.S. Census of Housing: 1960, City Blocks, Boston, Mass."
13. 1950: "United States Census of Population: 1950, Census Tract Statistics, Boston, Massachusetts and Adjacent Area."
14. 1950: "United States Census of Housing: 1950, Block Statistics, Boston, Massachusetts."

APPENDIX C: NORTH END POPULATION BY CENSUS TRACT AND CENSUS BLOCK

1950		1960		1970		1980	
Census Tract F-2		Census Tract F-2		Census Tract 301		Census Tract 301	
Block Population		Block Population		Block Population		Block Population	
15	381	15	320	101	259	101	210
14	381	14	320	102	247	102	83
13	---	13	---	103	61	103	56
1	96	1	74	104	236	104	36
2	152	2	59	105	50	105	11
3	145	3	142	106	106	106	83
12	303	12	276	107	471	107	207
11	899	11	691	201	413	201	465
10	356	10	315	202	276	202	201
9	460	9	334	203	287	203	243
4	34	4	31	204	21	204	38
5	420	5	249	205	240	205	139
6	73	6	351	206	57	206	38
8	398	8	71	207	326	207	201
7	136	7	190	208	154	208	150
-----		-----		-----		-----	
Total	4,234	Total	3,423	Total	3,204	Total	2,161
CT F-2		CT F-2		CT 301		CT 301	
-----		-----		-----		-----	

1950		1960		1970		1980	
Census Tract F-5		Census Tract F-5		Census Tract 302		Census Tract 302	
Block Population		Block Population		Block Population		Block Population	
17	765	17	609	101	456	101	369
18	---	18	26	102	50	102	32
16	614	16	508	103	384	103	289
3	3	3	19	104	18	104	6
1	399	1	358	105	326	105	230
2	30	2	---	106	17	106	32
5	---	5	---	107	---	107	7
4	248	4	---	108	146	108	103
11	123	11	99	109	71	109	70
13	123	13	98	110	52	110	48
15	91	15	106	111	92	111	67
14	91	14	42	112	66	112	55
12	217	12	182	113	136	113	92
10	123	10	80	114	85	114	55
9	30	9	23	115	---	115	---
			{	116	21	116	15
			{				

1950 Census Tract F-5 Block Population (Continued)	1960 Census Tract F-5 Block Population (Continued)	1970 Census Tract 302 Block Population (Continued)	1980 Census Tract 302 Block Population (Continued)
8 154	8 ---		
6 3	6 ---		
7 6	7 ---		
-----	-----	-----	-----
Total 3,020	Total 2,150	Total 1,920	Total 1,470
CT F-5	CT F-5	CT 302	CT 302
-----	-----	-----	-----

1950 Census Tract F-3 Block Population	1960 Census Tract F-3 Block Population	1970 Census Tract 303 Block Population	1980 Census Tract 303 Block Population
62 ---	61 --- {	125 ---	125 178
		126 7	126 ---
60 ---	70 ---	127 3	127 37
59 ---	71 ---	128 66	128 56
58 ---	72 ---	129 ---	129 ---
61 ---	69 ---	137 ---	137 232
57 20	68 10	201 7	201 323
56 345	67 103	202 88	202 138
53 92	66 ---	203 16	203 17
52 ---	65 ---	204 ---	204 ---
51 ---	62 ---	206 ---	206 290
54 ---	63 ---		
55 20	64 ---		
-----	-----	-----	-----
Total 477	Total 113	Total 187	Total 1,271
CT F-3	CT F-3	CT 303	CT 303
-----	-----	-----	-----

1950 Census Tract F-4 Block Population	1960 Census Tract F-4 Block Population	1970 Census Tract 304 Block Population	1980 Census Tract 304 Block Population
2 444	2 297	101 299	101 214
1 642	1 532	102 408	102 314
4 148	4 64	103 50	103 45
5 444	5 310	104 264	104 205
6 444	6 312	105 259	105 247
3 49	3 38	106 32	106 35
20 187	20 151	107 149	107 123
21 395	21 245	108 241	108 191
24 247	24 199	109 170	109 150

1950 Census Tract F-4 Block Populatrion (Continued)		1960 Census Tract F-4 Block Population (Continued)		1970 Census Tract 304 Block Population (Continued)		1980 Census Tract 304 Block Population (Continued)	
25	99	25	116	110	51	110	89
23	99	23	62	111	60	111	38
22	99	22	75	112	67	112	26
7	543	7	491	201	19	201	181
19	345	19	275	202	449	202	341
8	543	8	333	203	233	203	341
18	148	18	85	204	111	204	99
17	---	17	---				
9	49	9	---				
-----		-----		-----		-----	
Total	4,935	Total	3,595	Total	3,033	Total	2,499
CT F-4		CT F-4		CT 304		CT 304	
-----		-----		-----		-----	

1950 Census Tract F-1 Block Population			1960 Census Tract F-1 Block Population			1970 Census Tract 305 Block Population			1980 Census Tract 305 Block Population		
4	1,230	}	18	252		103	64		103	169	
		}	19	490		104	319		104	317	
10	500		10	382		105	368		105	244	
9	153		9	73		106	58		106	30	
8	347		8	389		201	282		201	264	
12	115		12	50		202	30		202	23	
7	347		7	99		203	140		203	62	
6	192		6	166		204	97		204	96	
13	38		13	40		205	---		205	18	
15	115		15	108		206	71		206	52	
5	808		5	566		207	495		207	404	
-----			-----			-----			-----		
Total	3,845		Total	2,615		Total	1,924		Total	1,679	
CT F-1			CT F-1			CT 305			CT 305		
-----			-----			-----			-----		

=====			=====			=====			=====		
1950	16,511		1960	11,896		1970	10,268		198-	9,080	
North			North			North			North		
End			End			End			End		
Total			Total			Total			Total		
Population			Population			Population			Population		

APPENDIX D: NORTH END POPULATION, By Age
Groups, For The Years 1950, 1960, 1970, and
1980.

Age

Groups	1950	1960	1970	1980
Under				
5 years	1,414	929	595	166
5 - 14	2,163	1,789	1,269	509
15 - 24	3,157	1,630	1,690	1,730
25 - 34	3,126	1,464	1,231	2,074
35 - 44	2,119	1,804	1,139	1,043
45 - 54	1,500	1,544	1,517	1,025
55 - 64	1,705	1,059	1,322	1,182
65 - 74	1,000	1,174	807	831
75 years and Over	327	503	698	520

Total Population	16,511	11,396	10,268	9,080

Qualitative interviews - tape transcription (partial)

Mrs. G.

I was born in the North End. I moved away when I was married, my husband bought a house in Somerville before we were married and then we lived in Somerville for eleven years. Then the story is in the depression we lost everything. Well, my husband says we lost everything but I don't say it. We lost material things we lost the house, the car, money in the bank; no job. You know I want to keep the family happy, I was young anyway, I had two children, you didn't want to depress them. I came to Howe Street, right across from the Old North Church. I had a two and a half year old son and I would take him and I'd sing. He said, "C., how can you be so happy when we lost everything?" I said, "Dad, did we lose everything? No. You're living, your well. I'm living, I'm well; the two children are living and they're well." So we just lost the material things, right? So we came to live in the North End and, I hate to say it, but it was the best thing that happened in my life. Back to the North End.

I was born off of North Street, Keith Alley... that alley isn't there any more. My sons grew up in the North End. When I was a child I used to go to the North End Union, a settlement house. You know, I have to say it, the North End is always a happy place everybody is happy, and as a little girl I remember the mothers washing the windows and singing, scrubbing the stairs and singing, everybody singing. On a Sunday morning you would come from church and, you know, they had those record machines that they had the little dog and the big horn, and when you come in the alley everybody had Caruso playing. It was such a happy place. It was wonderful.

What's left, my generation and my son's generation, the ones that's left, and the elderly people, they live so long - you see how many senior citizens homes we have, isn't it wonderful? - they are still happy people. I'm a retired social worker and teacher of the arts and guess where I learned everything I know? In the settlement house on Parmenter Street. It's still there, but it's no longer a settlement house. When I went there you went there every day ... there was a group of young men used to go to

the settlement house - everybody could go to the settlement house to have groups in the evening and everything - and guess what their names were? The Dearos, but nobody knows what the "Dearos" means - it's the "Dear Old North End." I guess many of them have passed away. As a little girl my household was a happy one; my father was well-to-do in Europe and my mother, she was such a lovely woman, she was a little shy, when everybody used to sing washing their windows, she used to hum. My mother's father went to Rome to study to be a priest, he studied four years. He went on holiday to a little town and he met my grandmother she was a young woman then - and he said "You know, Teresa, I'm not going back to Rome ... I'm in love with you, I'm going to marry you" nine children and he went to work in the garden and it's raining and he got pneumonia and he died. They all came to the North End.

In the North End we have a market place and, four o'clock in the morning, the farmers come in and sell it; everything has been picked the day before. Well, during the depression we didn't have much money but we could go right down the market place and get a big shopping bag of corn and lettuce picked the other day and you know, the Italian people love to cook. We were on soldiers' relief and when we had the house the Welfare said, "Your husband's a veteran, go on soldiers' relief" but they said "No, you have a house." Today they help them. I didn't know what to do. My mother supported us for about a year. For a year I did not pay capital, interest, taxes. I said to the bank, take the house, we need money. I had to beg the bank to take the house. Then I came to the North End... and I saw two rooms to let on Howe Street - two rooms, from eight rooms in my house ... I said to the lady "I'm _____" and she said "Yes, I know you, I know your mother. Come on up." I told her the story, how we had to give up everything, we couldn't afford more than two rooms. Four flights up, but a beautiful clean building. When you walked in the door a great big room with four big windows, and the bedroom a great big room with three big windows; I thought I was in Heaven. In the North End they always had the toilet in the hall, but it was nice and clean, we shared it with the two elderly people next to us. From my house I could only salvage the dining room and the master bedroom [furniture.] I had to give away my sons' room, the living room, all their toys, everything. We had to leave everything, there was no room to take it. I wasn't worried about what we were leaving behind, I was looking forward to, in the North End, how happy we were going to be On the dining room table I had a nice white tablecloth,

because that's what we were used to, and silver candlesticks right on the table, and silk pongee curtains. when you stepped in you thought what a beautiful dining room..... In the master bedroom, what we had to do, there wasn't another room, but in the dining room there was an alcove and a closet so we bought a sandwich bed - in the daytime you fold it up and it fit right in the corner and nobody knew the difference, I put a pretty drape over it; that was for my older son. For my youngest son, five years old,we bought a little roll-away cot. My boy, the baby, was born in 1930, we moved in there 1932. This big room, at night it was a bed room, in the morning it was a dining room, then when the children left it was a kitchen. I cooked authentic Italian food. The laundry I sent out, a wet wash was very inexpensive. I was on the top floor. Everybody would go up on the roof to hang the clothes. There was a lot of ironing to do, my husband had a clean shirt every day, the boy had a nice shirt going to school, and the little one

At night it was a dining room again. When friends came I always used to cook something nice, a big pie. When they came we would sit around - we couldn't walk around - and my sons sat with us because I wanted them to know the people we knew, how we acted and they acted.

Because I was in the North End, the Union was my life, I learned everything from A to Z in there, it was my school. And the Industrial School I went to school there as a girl. I wanted to be a social worker. Then my boyfriend came along - I was 17 - and I said "If you want to get married you have to wait five years." But he was smart, he was ten years my senior, he said "Allright."

Wonderful things happened. We had the Industrial School, we also had the Boston Latin and, if you live in Boston, you don't pay tuition. If you lived in Somerville you had to pay tuition. And my son had wonderful high marks and the teacher said "Would you like to go to Boston Latin School?" and he said "I have a cousin went to Boston Latin, I'd love to go." ...I was so happy. He went to Latin and, when he grew up, the other one went too. That wonderful education.My sons were used to books because I used to read to them even when they were two and a half years old, so study didn't mean anything difficult for them. When they came home at 2:30, I had to be there. We had small quarters; in my master bedroom was my son's spinning desk where he would study. The other one was studying, so I said, "You don't mind if I go to the Northern Union to take a class, do volunteer work?" So I went to the Northern Union and volunteered to do

social work, and here it was coming out -- the big game room with all the children. Maybe I'd do just one day a week there. Then, in the Industrial School, where I went for two years and learned everything, the boys worker said, "You know Mrs. G., I hear you do volunteer work at the Northern Union. We're going to have a Cub Scouts group of about ten or twelve boys. Would you take it over?" I said, "Of course I'll take it over." Six years I did it -- that was all volunteer. I reason I went was so that my sons could study when I was out. Because I had girlfriends who'd call and say, "I'm coming up." I said, "Boys, it's good for me to do this, because I can't entertain while you're studying; it's very important to study." So they said, "Mommy's not home." So my friends finally found out that I was doing this -- Industrial School, the Cub Scouts, and then the Game Room in the Northern Union. They said, "Mrs. G., would you help us out in another group?" That was a game room; all kinds of games; you had to teach these games. Of course, I knew all about it. And then, they said, "You know, Mrs. G., would you come and teach the girls; we're going to have a play?"

I told my sons, "I want you to study; and I'm glad you like to study. Your teacher says you have to study three hours. You know what I say? You're going to have a break. You're going, after you study an hour, down to the Industrial School. Just do anything you want to do. There's everything there -- an art class, typesetting, woodworking, the gym. Speak to Mr. F. and tell him you want to do something..." "Do they still have these things nowadays?" "No." "Why?" "There are no more children nowadays. In those days, everyone had nine or ten children. So, there's no children. They have something in the Industrial School; they have a drop in." "Do any young people go there?" "There's nothing that I know of; no young people going there. When the Veterans came from the Army, they had classes for the Veterans to teach them how to fix watches and jewellery."

"So, I didn't tell my sons, I just talked to them as friends. I said, you can come and see my Cub Scouts; so they said, "All right." So, the older boy, when he came back, I said, what are you going to do?" He said, "They have a beautiful art class that I'm going to. Because, at the Boston Latin School, they have, after school, extra curriculum art appreciation and music appreciation." "So the little one says, "I'm going to the art appreciation class too." "Did they teach them music -- piano, violin -- if they wanted to take lessons?" "Yes."

"So, they your boys went on and went to college?" "Both had aprobation (?) cards every month from the Boston Latin School. That meant they had high marks -- A's and B's. College time was coming. I was doing volunteer work. My boys were studying for college. I told them I was going to try and get a job at the South End House because now I have to earn some money because my sons are going to college. So, the head worker says to me, "What, are you dreaming? You're going where? You're going to stay right here, and we're going to pay you." So, I was paid at the North End Union. Also later on at the Industrial School where I was a social worker and teacher of the arts. I had group singing and dancing. I used to teach dancing at the Industrial School one night a week later on, during the war, where I taught teenagers how to do ballroom dancing. I even had a story hour group for a class of seven years old."

"So, then you earned some money to send your sons to college?" "We had a First National store on Salem Street and the man -- he was a lovely Jewish man -- I said, "My son, Mr. [redacted] is going to Latin School and now has to start saving some money. Would you give him a job for the weekend? He said, "Send him along." And, my son worked Friday night and all day Saturday."

"So, they did get their education. What did they study in college? What did they become?" "I have to tell you -- at the Industrial School, we had a boys leader. I had the Cub Scouts there, because I worked most of the time at the Industrial School. Also, during the war, someone said to me, "Mrs. G., there's a war going on, you can't say no." "I said, "I work every day." They said, "This is night work. We're going to have a game room for teenagers so we can take them off the street, and that's four nights a week. You can't say no." So, I said, "Alright." Then, after I was doing that -- every day North End Union; every night Industrial School, four days -- then another one said to me, "You know, Mrs. G., we need a dancing teacher." They knew I could do all this because they knew my background. I said, "I'm working four nights." He said, "Mrs. G., the war is going on. We have to take care of the children." Alright. Then I taught dancing. I had the game room. In the game room, the boys an girls came, and because they were going in the candy shops, playing the juke box, the coke machine and the candy machine."

"Do they have anything like that now for the kids?" "No. No more children. Do you know what this place should be called? 'Dear Old North End Educational something.' We had education at our fingertips."

"What do you think they can do to change things a bit, to bring back the good things that you had then, to bring the families back?" "My generation all moved out. They live in Somerville and Arlington. I had 85 senior citizens at the North End Union -- that was another night! That was a recreational group. We had records; we used to dance and sing. They taught me all the Italian songs,"

"What do you think is going to happen in the North End now?" "I can't see. There are no children. In my day, there were 9, 10, 12 children. My girlfriends used to say, when I get married I'm only going to have two. We didn't know anything about marriage. We were little children. So, I was reading Louise Alcott; girls were going to boarding school and they were dressed like this. I said to my friends, "You know what I'm going to do. I'm going to have four girls; I'm going to make all their dresses; and they're going to boarding school. But, when I got married, I had boys!" "Do you have any little girls now, grandchildren?" "I have one daughter who's a doctor (?) for them." "Do they like the North End?" "They're not in the North End. The oldest son went to Harvard and he graduated cum laude. Then when he went to Harvard Medical School, he graduated summa cum laude and phi beta kappa."

"My other son, he became a doctor. His practice is in Andover. A Harvard doctor -- he loved my son because he loves his work -- he had a beautiful home, nice gardens and a nice practice. My son was interning. He could have gone to John Hopkins to intern. His professors told him, "Michael, at John Hopkins, they're all wealthy people -- if they have a headache ... but at the Boston City Hospital, you'd have a lot of practice. What are you going to do?" And he said, "Well, if you say so."

Mrs. D.

[In 1968 to North End] I used to live to live in Roxbury and then the Blacks moved in and I was the last one to move out of my building In the North End they don't advertise if there's an apartment to let, so I asked one of the Italian ladies I was working with and I was just lucky, this apartment I'm in now was empty and, thanks be to God, ... they are so good to me.

Mrs. M.

I was born in the North End and, as we grew up we went to St John's School, we graduated, then we went to work and we got married and raised a family. In the North End when we were young it was beautiful, you could walk around. With a nickel we could buy a paper? , share it, and still have a penny left ... the people were so nice, they didn't make much. [The housing] there would be two rooms, the parents slept in the bedroom, for the children there would be a daybed ... but they were very clean people, they scrubbed, they had no hot water, no heat. The poor mothers would bake bread, put up tomatoes in jars, and pickles, peppers; buy a sack of potatoes Sometimes we shared one bathroom to four families, go up and down, and no hot water. To wash the dishes, heat the water on the stove, wash the dishes, go out and get more water - the sinks were out in the hallwaybut they were all nice people, you never had to worry, the doors were never locked, the stairs were scrubbed so clean, it was amazing. Now things came up, I don't know what happened, now we are afraid in our houses, we are afraid in the streets, you don't know which way to go.

Mrs. T.

First came here in 1924 ... people were very nice, they made us feel right at home, they accepted us and you weren't afraid to go out at night, we'd go up all over - you can't do that today.Martignetti's building on Howe Street, \$15 a month for rent - well, he was a cousin of my mother's ... the doors were always open, until they set that fire ... on Stillman Street, they soaked old rags with gasoline and set it on fire, then we all started shutting our doors, we were frightened. New people coming in, they are nice but it isn't like it used to be. I was talking to a lawyer - no, a

journalist - he's paying \$600 a month in my mother-in-law's house; I started out paying \$15, but what can you do? ... and he says "that's cheap... according to other places." I own property, I'm on rent control, and the same rooms are \$110, I can raise them only \$5 a year... three rooms and a bath.

Mrs. D.

I was formerly from the West End, we were all happy, all one family, Italian people, on Hill St in the West End, then one by one we all had to move out ... in 1962, 63 - something like that - moved to the North End. on Hill St we were all Italian, all knew each other, watched each other's children ... the I came to the North End. The beginning over here it was just like the West End but now they've built these high buildings, the more the cars come, and where are people going to park their cars? It's terrible. ... I still miss the West End, we were all one happy family there

Mrs. J.

I was born here, and I still love it, no matter what goes on it's my North End and the friends are great here, believe me. Course, a lot of our friends did die and we have all these young people, but they seem to be nice kids, you know, they don't bother anybody. The only thing that's hard is the parking, your children can't come down because there's nowhere you can park.

[Now] we get the bus and go to Stop and Shop every Wednesday. [Then] we had quite a few stores in the North End ... but now we don't have anything, we've only got two of them ...

Mrs. N.

We lived in two rooms, our toilets were outside in the hallway, no hot water and my mother had to heat the water for me for baths - I was the only child- but we managed as best we could. I went to the Hancock School to the 9th grade the school was beautiful, the teachers were so nice ...

HOW THINGS CHANGED FOR THE BETTER IN RECENT TIMES?

I cant think of how they are any better... We have baths and hot water ... Social Security... four times a year they give us butter and cheese surplus, milk and rice ... we don't have to put the quarter in the light ... transportation is definitely better ... buses ... everybody owns a car ...

resident parking - but no place to put them, even with a sticker.

FUTURE OF NORTH END - no opinions - "we have no choice" ... problems of high rents; "our children have to go to the suburbs, they can't afford the high rents; another thing I would like to see is rent control go off ... my taxes and insurance go up every year." "Parking, so our children can come and visit. They get a \$30 ticket, so they don't come down. It's sad."

SERVICES NOW - Home care, people to come and clean; chiropodist to make house visits; shuttle to go to shops, doctors; nurses come to house; fuel assistance ...

Mrs. T.

I was born here, right here on North St. I'll tell you the truth, I prefer the old. There's too much trouble going on, breaking in homes, you're not safe any more. I love the water front, that's the best thing they ever did for us, it's really great. But these high rises, all these condos they're making, they're throwing all the old people out of their homes, I don't think it's right. A lot of these people been here all our lives, why should we get out? Is it fair? What are we going to do? We haven't got that kind of money. ... We need more nursing homes in the North End, we've only got one ... instead of making all these condos why don't they make a nursing home, there's a lot of elderly people here, where are they going to go? It was wonderful then ... all the schools were good, the teachers were good, they paid attention and the children did too. Six schools We had no trouble... we the see what happened, everyone started getting an extra nickel and thought they were big shots and ruined the North End

[Use of space available from elevated] ... more parking ... more parks ... low income housing ... we certainly don't need condos... we need more police

protection; when they go by in cruisers you don't even see them, they go by so fast ... years ago, two cops walking, and they checked the doors of the street; not like that now.

The North End is so convenient, it's so close, everything is walking distance ... the few that are left, we are still friendly like, we haven't got many old timers left ...

Mr. S.

Born in the North End ... it was more of a family, like a big family reunion. I'll give you a for-instance; my mother had ten children and when she had maybe her sixth child she farmed out the other five to five different families and they took care of them; in those days there were no hospitals. Like I say, it was one big family, all doors were open. And it was either Doctor Rosen or Cohen, he charged \$2 for a delivery. Anyway, while she was recuperating from the childbirth, the neighbors brought her soups and macaroni and whatever, pasta. There were ten kids and we had one big bowl or pan of coffee in the morning and hot bread, everybody would dip bread into the pot. We had the most children on the shortest street in the North End - Sheep St. Ten kids ... slept in three bedroom; four brothers in one bed, head to toe, two and two; two brothers on a cot; and four sisters in one bed. And my mother and father had their own private room. ... In my day, you never heard of [illegitimate] pregnancies, very very few. Even though they have [sex] education in the schools today, the people were better educated seventy years ago ... because today they try before they buy. In those days ... they knew what they were buying.

They claimed that the North End intelligence was 1% college out of 99% people; that's a lie, they didn't know what they were talking about. I'm just giving you my family now again - ten kids, there's four engineers, a lawyer, and the girls married pretty good... I can't see anything that was detrimental. The bookies (today they call them welfare) took care of them. On holidays, Thanksgiving and Christmas, the bookies gave them baskets and a turkey, they used to pay the rents for them, everybody that needed. In those days for Welfare you had to work for your money, the male person on the city, to hump and sweep or shovel snow or dig holes. Today, oh no, I can't dirty my hands, it's against the Constitution. Good or bad, you can't stop progress. [We should get] a community center for the people of the North End. The people of the North End don't know how to get together - and this is coming from the heart - they have never

been associated as a get-together team, except in the family way I'm talking politically. You want to know the difference between a North End and I call them a foreigner that moved into the North End? A North End will be walking down the street, "Hi Joe, hi Lucy, hi Sam." A foreigner, or let's say a newcomer [and he acts out a silent walker]. They are not as good as they think they are. They are yuppies. And they still think I'm an immigrant because my mother and father came here ... they don't want to associate. I live out now, I've been out of here 36 years, but I'm here every day, I'm retired now 20 years and I think I've missed three days, except for weekends, I'm here every day, because you can leave the North End but the North End doesn't leave you, no matter where you go. You will find that the young people that get married today will leave here and will never come back because they didn't have it like we did in the 20's and 30's. There was depression, there was hunger, there was poverty and yet people were better off with all these three things than the yuppies that are making \$50,000 a year. They buy a home, they buy a car, they go to work, they go home and go to bed and they worry about what they are going to do.

There is nothing you can do [about the parking problem] because you've got six kids in the family, you've got six cars and one parking space. There's nowhere to go, unless the government build a 10 story garage and give North End people free parking. Let me give you a North End for-instance again. In the blizzard of '78 the city came down and said we will give you free parking in the Haymarket Square garage, no money, get off the streets so we can plow. Not one car moved.

